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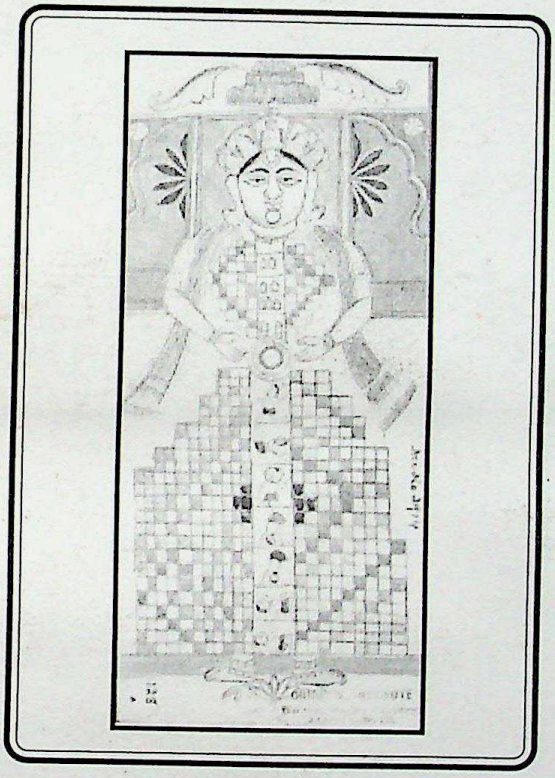

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VEDIC CONCEPT OF *ANNA* - THE PRIMARY REQUIREMENT OF BEING

SUKUMAR CHATTOPADHYAY*

Anna 'food' is the basic need of each and every worldly being. It is considered as the primary substance of all existence which leads to a realistic materialism. The Vedic literature gives a comprehensive idea of this term with numerous occurrences.

Every being is desirous of food by nature because living of any being is possible only by food. The gross material body is sustained by food i.e. absolutely depending on food for subsistence. Because of this comprehensive nature *anna* is identified with the Supreme Being (*Brahman*). Several elements in the form of divinities like Sun, fire etc. are supposed to preside over articles of food. Some compound forms with *anna* indicate the social status like *annapati* 'the lord of food', *annapatya* 'the lordship of food' and *annapatnī* 'a goddess presiding over food'.

The term *anna* is derived from the root *ad*-'to eat' with the suffix *kta*. Etymologically it means 'anything eaten' but its conventional meaning is only food or victuals. This primary sense is later developed to denote boiled rice, bread corn, food in an mystical sense or the lowest form in which the Supreme Soul is manifested, the coarset covering of the Supreme Spirit etc. The *Nighaṇṭu* records twenty eight synonyms of *anna*[1] but in the same text[2] it is recorded also as a synonym of water. Devarāja Yajvan comments on

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* B 1/3, E-7, Lane No. 2, Ravindrapuri Extn., Varanasi (U.P.) 221 005.

1. *Nighaṇṭu* II.7
2. *Ibid.* I.12.64

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the same : *ana prāṇane, anyate prāṇyate prajābhiḥ, na hi kadācidapi jalena vinā jīvanti prāṇinaḥ'*. Yāska has given two etymologies of the term : *annaṃ kasmāt ? ānataṃ bhūtebhyaḥ, attervā*[3]. The term *anna* is derived from *ā + nam-* as it is brought near created beings or it is derived from the root *ad* 'to eat'. Vedic Saṃhitās record several etymological explanations of the term using the verbal root and noun in juxtaposition like *'annamatti'*[4], *'annamannam adantam admi'*[5], *'annādibhir annamatti ya evaṃ veda'*[6]. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* also thinks in the same line: *prāṇa evānnādaḥ, prāṇena hīdam annam adyate*[7]. But the *Taittirīyas* give the etymological explanation of the term in a more lucid way : *adyate'tti ca bhūtāni, tasmādannaṃ taducyate*[8].

It is very interesting to note that a majority of the words denoting the verbal root *ad* 'to eat' for *anna* belong to an inherited group representing an Indo-European root **ed-*, Greek-*edo*, Attic -*esthio*, Latin - *esse* or *edere*, Oscan - *edum*, Old Norse - *eta*, Swedish - *äta*, Old English - *etan*, Middle English - *ete*, German - *essen*. These words are closely related with the Vedic etymological concept on the term *anna* derived from root *ad*, almost homophenous with the Indo-European root **ed-*.

Vedic seers represent this basic concept *'anna'* vividly, identifying it with the Supreme Brahman and many worldly objects like ritual concepts, primal elements - earth, water, etc., juice of the soma plant, metres, Vedic verse, progeny, prosperity, cattle, breath, moon etc. Food is the direct source of existence to every creature in this world.

In the *Ṛgveda anna* is used as a multidimensional concept denoting sacrificial food, soma juice, ghee or clarified butter, grass, means of food, corn, etc. In the production of *anna*, five primal elements play a very important role and the presiding deity of each primal element is also praised in that particular *mantra* e.g. Agni for elemental fire. The elements are support of beings and the cause of food etc. From food originates semen, the source of living being. Agni is not only presiding deity but also the primal energy as without *tejas* (light or heat) no creation is possible. In the Vedic literature, five primal

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3. *Nirukta* III.9
4. *Ṛgveda* X.125.4
5. *Sāmaveda* I.6.1.9
6. *Atharvaveda* XV.14.10
7. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* XI.2.4.6
8. *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* VIII.2, also cf *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* II.2

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elements are mentioned with their synonyms in relation to *anna* which may be classified in five groups as follows : (i) *prthivī, bhūmi, āyatana* (ii) *ap, rasa, vṛṣṭi, soma, varṣam* (iii) *tejas, arka, āditya, raśmi, gārhapatya agni, pṛśni, retas, uṣas,* etc., (iv) *vāyu, marut, prāṇa,* and (v) *ākāśa, vyoman.* An attempt has been made here to find out the realistic materialism of this concept through the investigation of various Vedic sources and how the term interrelates with all its multidimensional concepts from physical, divine and spiritual outlook.

The term *anna* is mostly used in the *Ṛgveda* to denote sacrificial food. Some of the Ṛgvedic citations on the same are as follows: *'devāya devīr didhīṣantyannam'*[9] three divine females-Īḷā, Sarasvatī and Bhāratī present food to Apāṃnapāt, an uninjurable divinity.

Agni, the twofold generated energy, either as produced by friction from the two sticks or in the first instance by friction and in the second form consecretion for sacrificial use, devours the triple sacrificial food - clarified butter, butter with other articles or cakes fried in butter (*purodāśa*) and soma-juice *'abhi* dvijanmā trivṛdannam ṛjyate'.[10]

In a laudatory hymn (ṚV II.35), Agni is praised, as the receiver of sacrificial food and water is also his food. Grandson of the waters, Apāṃnapāt, a form of fire as sprung from water, increases the nectar of the skies and eats the sacrificial food *'svadhāṃ pīpāya subhvannam atti'.*[11] The golden form fire is the giver of gold at solemn rites and the sacrificial food is offered to him *'hiraṇyadā dadatyannamasmai'*[12]. Again, the youthful waters collectively kindle the golden coloured divinity in the sky because water is his food *'hiraṇyavarṇam ghṛtam annam asya'*[13]. The abundant waters bear sustenance(*anna*) to their grandson, fire *'āpo naptre ghṛtam annaṃ vahantīḥ'*[14]. An appraisal of sacrificial food, related with the desire of son is as follows: *'yaste bharāt anniyate cid annam'*[15] 'may a son firm in devotion and liberal in offerings to be born to him who presents sacrificial food to fire when needing food or fuel. The gentle and pleasing food of sacrifice or the

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9. *Ṛgveda* II.35.5
10. *Ibid.* I.140.2
11. *Ibid.* II.35.7
12. *ibid.* II.35.10
13. *Ibid.* II.35.11
14. *Ibid.* II.35.14
15. *Ibid.* IV.2.7

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oblation becomes manifest in the form of fire *'arūkṣitam dṛśe ā rūpe annam'*[16]. The sacrificer, who is desirous of wealth, should offer the sacrificial food thrice to fire everyday *'triste annaṃ kṛṇavat sasmin ahan'*[17]. Agni sitting upon the sacrificial food, gives habitation and food to his worshippers from their birth *'cakre agnir januṣājmānnam'*[18]. Agni whets his gloom dispersing radiance and eats the offered oblation *'nitikti yo vāraṇam annam atti'*[19]. Ghee or clarified butter is also described as the food and nourishment of fire *'ghṛtam annam ghṛtamvasya medanam'*[20]. Agni devours his food with his teeth of flame quickly *'tṛṣu yadannā samvṛkta jambhaiḥ'*[21]. Again, almost in the same sense: *'agnir na jambhaistṛṣvannam āvayat'*[22]. Agni matures the standing corn by his potency *'sthirā cidannā niriṇātyojasā'*[23]. With the glowing teeth, Agni consumes the standing food or fuel *'sthirā cidannā dayate vijambhaiḥ'*[24]. Agni carried off his food quickly with rapid radiance *'tṛṣu yadannā tṛṣuṇā vavakṣa'*[25]. Agitated by the wind, Agni spread about devouring the food *'tṛṣu yadannā veviṣad vitiṣṭhase'*.[26] Agni is present everywhere and he quickly offers us food *'yo asmā annaṃ tṛṣvādadhāti'*[27]. He gathers food for his mouth from all sides *'pari svayaṃ cinuṣe annam āsye.'*[28] Sacrificer offers oblations to Agni, powerful materials, conspicuous and nourished food: *'vyaciṣṭham annaiḥ rabhasaṃ dṛśānam'*[29].

Soma-juice is also mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* as the *anna* of Indra, who is wide-pervading and pleased with this sacrificial viand or food *'oruvyacaḥ pṛṇatām ebhirannaiḥ'*[30]. He devours the grateful viands presented at the three daily sacrifices dedicated to the creator of the world *'pituṃ papivāñcārvannā'*[31] and he first takes the soma-juice *'annā yadindraḥ prathamā vyāśa'*[32]. So Soma-juice is the staple food of Indra and he is presiding deity of this material *'yasyeśiṣe pradivi yaste annam'*[33]. Indra asks for food approaching his mother *'upasthāya mātaram annam aitta'*[34]. Indra is requested through the Vedic

16. *Ibid.* IV.11.1
17. *Ibid.* IV.12.1
18. *Ibid.* VI.4.4
19. *Ibid.* VI.4.5
20. *Ibid.* X.69.2
21. *Ibid.* VII.3.4
22. *Ibid.* X.113.8
23. *Ibid.* I.127.4
24. *Ibid.* IV.7.10
25. *Ibid.* IV.7.11
26. *Ibid.* X.91.7
27. *Ibid.* X.79.5
28. *Ibid.* X.91.5
29. *Ibid.* II.10.4
30. *Ibid.* III.50.1
31. *Ibid.* I.61.7
32. *Ibid.* III.36.8
33. *Ibid.* VI.41.3
34. *Ibid.* III.48.3

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mantras to come to the house of sacrificer and to quaff the pleasant beverage soma: *'yad dadhiṣe pradivi cārvannam'*[35], *'idaṃ te annam yujyam samukṣitam'*[36], *'ā ... yāhi priyam annam accha'*[37]. Indra is so fond of soma that he even does not hesitate to steal *'annam abhītyārodayan muṣāyan'*[38]. Offering of food to other deities are also mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* e.g. Aśvins are requested to take sacrificial food *'vītam me yajñam āgataṃ me annam'*[39] and to *Nirṛti* for the sake of riches *'sāman nu rāye nidhiman nvannam karāmahe'*[40]. Devī or Āmbhṛṇī vāk says everybody eats because of her grace *'mayā so annam atti'*[41]. On account of being derived from the root *'ad'* 'to eat', the term *anna* denotes any type of edible thing either human food or fodder for cattle. A practical scene of cultivation of land is described in the *Ṛgveda,* where *anna* is used to denote grass: *annam yujeva vājinā jigātam*[42] 'yoked horse runs towards grass'. *Dakṣiṇā* or sacrificial fees of a priest is praised in the *Ṛgveda* as it bestows food *'dakṣiṇā annaṃ vanute'*[43]. Offering of wealth and food is praised *'sa puṣyatyannaṃ śatam'*[44] and a miser person is condemned as the inhospitable man acquires food in vain *'mogham annaṃ vindate apracetāḥ.'*[45].

The *Yajurveda* records mostly the term *anna* in the context of sacrificial rites. In the *Śatarudriya,* a litany with various oblations, Rudra's arrow are described as the food of all being *'namo'stu rudrebhyo ye pṛthivyāṃ yeṣām annam iṣavaḥ'*[46]. In the context of *Vasordhārā* ceremony, the sacrificer offers an uninterrupted series of four hundred and one oblations of clarified butter. At that time, Adhvaryu recites a formula containing the term *'anna'* as : *annaṃ ca me akṣucca me yajñena kalpantām*[47] 'my food and my satiety prosper by sacrifice'. In *Sautrāmaṇi iṣṭi,* Adhvaryu praises Soma to give food with flavour to the sacrificer *'rasena annaṃ yajamānāya dhehi'*[48]. In the same sacrifice, Agni is praised to confer food, milk, and manly vigour to the sacrificer *'annaṃ payo reto asmāsu, dhatta'*[49]. In the *Sarvamedha* sacrifice, sacrificer offers the deified horse and other gods to eat this food, parched grains and groats in the product of barley and in the product of cows *'etad annamatta devā etad annam addhi prajāpate'.*[50]

35. *Ibid.* III.98.2
36. *Ibid.* VIII.4.12
37. *Ibid.* X.112.4
38. *Ibid.* X.99.5
39. *Ibid.* X.61.4
40. *Ibid.* X.59.2
41. *Ibid.* X.125.4
42. *Ibid.* II.24.12
43. *Ibid.* X.107.7
44. *Ṛgveda, Khila* I.9.1
45. *Ṛgveda,* X.117.6
46. *Yajurveda,* XVI.66
47. *Ibid.* XVIII.10
48. *Ibid.* XIX.5
49. *Ibid.* XIX.48
50. *Ibid.* XXIII.8

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To sweeten the food of sacrificer in his home, mead or a sweet beverage is addressed in Agnihotra rite *'atho annasya kīlāla upahūto gṛheṣu naḥ'*[51] In the construction of the altars for sacrificial fires, *anna* is praised for healthy body: *annapate annasya no dehyanamīvasya śuṣminaḥ'*[52]. In the atonement of *Pravargya* ceremony, the term *anna* is used to denote milk *'paśūnām rūpam annasya raso yaśaḥ śrīḥ śrayatāṃ mayi'*[53]. Lord of food is praised for fame, wealth and dignity *'annānāṃ pataye namaḥ'*[54].

In the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* also *anna* is praised *'saumyaṃ vā annam'*[55], *amuṣmin loke annam itaḥ pradānam*[56]. Here also *anna* is used to denote strength (*annaṃ vai vājo*[57]), sacrificial cake (*annaṃ vai purodāśa*[58]), and the Supreme Being (*brahma cānnam*[59]).

The *Atharvaveda* also refers to many aspects by the term *anna*-sap *'annāni ye rasāḥ'*[60], cattle *'paśorannasya bhūmānaṃ gavām'*[61]. Rudra is treated as *annapati 'annapataye rudrāya namaḥ'*[62]. A person is called rich if he possesses sufficient food *'annasya bhūmā puruṣasya bhūmā'*[63].

Brāhmaṇic literature is highly enriched to manifest this fundamental concept *'anna'*. More than two hundred references are noticed in the Brāhmaṇas where the true multidimensional concept of the term *anna* is reflected. In the sense of heat energy, the term is unified with sun, fire, rays, light etc. as follows: *annaṃ vā arkaḥ*[64], *annaṃ raśmiḥ*[65], *annaṃ vai pṛśni*[66]. Some other senses are : strength *'annaṃ vai vājaḥ'*[67], water *'annaṃ vā āpaḥ'*[68], support *'annaṃ vā āyatanam'*[69], rain *'annaṃ vṛṣṭiḥ'*[70], happiness *'annaṃ vai kam'*[71], metre *'annaṃ vai paṅktiḥ'*[72] may be developed later as a concept of *paṅktibhojana*, offering *anna* to the poor and needy brāhmins etc. It is also used to denote sky *'annaṃ*

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51. *Ibid.* III.43
52. *Ibid.* XI.83; also cf. XXXIV.58
53. *Ibid.* XXXIX.4
54. *Ibid.* XVI.18
55. *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* II.1.3.3
56. *Ibid.* 1.7.3.4
57. *Ibid.* 1.2.2
58. *Ibid.* VII.1.9.1
59. *Ibid.* VII.3.9.1
60. *Atharvaveda* XIX.31.4
61. *Ibid.* XIX.31.8
62. *Ibid.* XIX.55.5
63. *Ibid.* V.28.3
64. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* IX.1.1.4
65. *Ibid.* VIII.5.3.3
66. *Ibid.* VIII.7.3.21
67. *Ibid.* I.4.1.9
68. *Ibid.* II.1.1.3
69. *Ibid.* VI.2.1.14
70. *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* I.4.4-5
71. *Ibid.* II.6.3
72. *Ibid.* II.6.2

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vai vyoma[73], breath *'annaṃ hi prāṇāḥ*[74], prosperity *'annaṃ vai śrīḥ*[75], some juice *'annaṃ vai somaḥ*[76], wind *'annaṃ vai marutaḥ*[77], cow or cattle *'annaṃ vai gauḥ*[78], etc. Three liquids *dadhi, madhu* and *ghṛta* are treated as the best kinds of food: *etad u paramamannaṃ yad dadhi madhu, ghṛtam*[79].

To food, the body is bound by vital airs *'anne hyayamātmā prāṇairāsaktaḥ*[80]. When enclosed in the body, food becomes body itself *'tasmād annam ātmanā parihitam ātmaiva bhavati*[81]. *Anna* benefits the body if put into the body *'yad u vā ātman annaṃ dhīyate tad ātmānam bhavati*[82]. It is also the resort of waters *'annam vā apāṃ pāthaḥ*[83]. Its threefold natures - ploughing, rain and seed, are treated in the Brāhmaṇas *'atho trivṛd vā annaṃ - kṛṣirvṛṣṭirbījam*[84]. Sometimes it is treated as seventeenfold in the same text *'saptadaśaṃ hyannam*[85]. The origin of scientific ecological balance remains in the idea: 'the food consumed by man in this world consumes him in the other *'asmin loke puruṣo'annam atti*[86].

In the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, it is said that *anna* should not be blamed as it provides us energy *'annaṃ na nindyāt*[87]. The same text also takes honey as food *'annaṃ vai madhu*[88].

In the Upaniṣads, *anna* is praised as the source of all being, life, support, goal, desire of all, and is reverenced as the highest form of the soul. Creatures are produced from food, they live moreover by food *'annād vai prajā prayāyante, ... annenaiva jīvanti*[89]. Fire, blazes up with food. This world was fashioned by Brahmā with a desire for food. The term *anna* is more clearly reflected in the following Upaniṣadic verse:

annād bhūtāni jāyante, jātānyannena vardhante.
adyate'tti ca bhūtāni tasmād annaṃ taducyate.[90]

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73. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* VII.5.1.25
74. *Ibid.* II.2.1.6
75. *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* I.5.4
76. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* III.9.1.8
77. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* I.7.3.5
78. *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* I.215
79. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* IX.2.1.12
80. *Ibid.* VI.7.1.21
81. *Ibid.* X.4.1.2
82. *Ibid.* VIII.7.2.9
83. *Ibid.* VII.5.2.60
84. *Ibid.* VIII.6.2.2
85. *Ibid.* VIII.4.4.7
86. *Ibid.* XII.9.1.1
87. *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* IX.7
88. *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* I.1.3
89. *Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad* VI.11
90. *Ibid.* VI 12

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"From food created things are born.
By food, when born, do they grow up.
It both is eaten and eat things.
Because of that it is called food." (Tr. R.E. Hume)

The *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (II.2) also tunes the same idea as: *'annād bhavanti bhūtāni...'* (also cf. *annāddhyeva khalvimāni bhūtāni jāyante, annena jātāni jīvanti*[91]). The reciprocal relations of food as supporting and supported are described in the same *Upaniṣad*. Breath, water, light, earth and space are identified with food and hence food is established on food. Body is an eater of food. One should not blame or despise food (*annaṃ na nindyāt, prāṇo vā annam śarīram annādaṃ*[92]). Manifestation of Brahman as food is a spiritual outlook of Upaniṣadic thought *'annaṃ brahmetyāhuḥ'*[93]. It indicates that *anna* is the first creation of the Supreme Being.

In fine, it may be said that *anna* is treated in the Vedic literature as a primal and essential concept because without it living or existence of any being is impossible. Both the healthy maintenance of body and disease are caused by *anna*. For determining the utility of food, the original producer of the material world or *prakṛti*, acts as the innate factor. Above all, bread problem is the chief problem of living being. As the effort to earn one's livelihood is all absorbing since the very outset of creation, the Vedic seers also realise this basic concept of existence in their progressive thoughts.

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91. *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* III.2
92. *Ibid.* III.7-9
93. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* V.12.1

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PŪRVARAṄGA IN THE *NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA* AND SYMBOLISM

ASAWARI V. BHAT*

Nāṭya is theatre scenic action or more specifically drama, and *śāstra* is the term accepted in Indian tradition for holy writ, dedicated to a particular field of knowledge. Bharatamuni's *Nāṭyasāstra* defines *Nāṭya* as "the representation of the state of the three worlds"[1]. Brahman says "I have devised this *Nāṭya* as the imitation of the ways of the world endowed with various emotions and consisting of various situations"[2].

Symbolism: Oxford dictionary traces the origin of the word 'symbol' to *sumbolon* in Greek, meaning 'mark, token, a thing conventionally regarded as typifying, representing or recalling something esp. an idea or quality (e.g. white as a symbol of purity)[3]". A symbol is a visible or audible sign or emblem of some thought, emotion or experience interpreting what can be really grasped only by mind and imagination by something which enters into the field of observation.[4] It is a conventional sign with an agreed connotation. Symbolization is a universal human process pervasive in communication and grounded in the very use of language. Symbolization is a part of social relationship.

In literature, meaning *(artha)* is expressed in three ways - *abhidhā, lakṣaṇā* and *vyañjanā*. In *vyañjanā,* the meaning is not expressed directly, but by way of suggestion. The suggested meaning is more appealing than the directly expressed meaning as it expresses more than what appears. Symbolism coincides with this suggestive meaning viz. *vyañjanā.*

Religious symbols have high degree of stability. Hinduism makes the most use of

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1. Shastri Madhusudan, *Natyashastra of Bharatamuni* I:107, Banaras Hindu University. Varanasi
2. *Ibid:* I: 112.
3. Hawkins Joyce and Robert Allen (ed.), *The Oxford Encycopaedic English Dictionary,* Oxford, 1991.
4. Hastings James *et al* (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* T. and T. Clark. New York. (1954, 1st ed. 1921).

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symbols and they are all suggestive in nature. Symbol is a necessary and helpful intermediary between the incorporeal, incomprehensible, Reality and the worshipers e.g. syllable *Om* is the symbol of Brahman. All idols are symbols. A wise man does not worship a symbol - the shape in clay or wood or stone, but is thereby reminded of the invisible substance or Reality which it represents. (i.e. *saguṇa* worship). The rites are symbolic.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* describes rituals in chapter II, III and V. This paper proposes to discuss the *Pūrvaraṅga* i.e. preliminaries performed every time before commencement of the actual play and its symbolic interpretation. The Indian mind in general is religious in nature. The divine and mythical origin of drama mentioned at the beginning of the treatise *Nāṭyaśāstra*, supports this point-

Pūrvaraṅga: The preliminaries are grouped in two parts. The first nine are performed *antaryavanikā*, i.e. behind the curtain, and the later nine or ten are performed *bahiryavanikā* i.e. directly in front of the spectators.

The group one consists of following items performed behind the curtain such as *pratyāhāra avataraṇa, ārambha, āśravaṇa, vaktrapāṇī, parighaṭṭanā, saṅghoṭanā, mārgāsārita,* and *āsārita*. These are devoted to arranging the instruments on the stage, tuning and adjusting them, trying them out separately and doing the preliminary vocal *ālāpa*. All the instruments can now be played together, followed by rendering a full musical piece comprising singing of songs to the accompaniment of *Svaravādyas* and *tālavādyas*. These may appear purely technical before the stage performance. However, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* qualifies them as sacral, unique forms of worship. It mentions that *pratyāhāra* pleases *Nāgas* and *Rākṣasas*. *Apsarās* take pleasure in *avataraṇa, Gandharvas* take pleasure in *ārambha, āśravaṇa* and *vaktrapāṇī* are liked by *Dānavas, Rākṣasas* also enjoy *parighaṭṭanā, Guhyakas* enjoy *saṅghoṭanā, Yakṣas* enjoy *mārgāsārita,* and Gods are pleased with *gītavidhī*[5]. In other words, people of different castes, tastes, intelligence, ages or from different geographical areas enjoy different items. Even today we notice that different sounds of instruments made behind the curtain please the children and the sound of all instruments tuned well pleases *saṅgītajñas* in the audience. This suggests a journey from chaos to cosmos, from disharmony to harmony, which pleases *sahṛdayas*. The music also

5. Shastri Madhusudan, *Natyashastra of Bharatmuni* 5:45-52, Banaras Hindu University. Varanasi, (1971).

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elevates the mood of the spectators. As said in *Taitirīya Upaniṣad*[6]. *"Sa eṣā ānandasya mīmāṁsā"*, everybody's level and *viṣaya* of *ānanda*. This is comparable with different groups of spectators in the audience deriving joy from various items. From ritual angle, this part is suggestive of a tribute to *Rākṣasas, Dānavas, lower deities, Gandharvas, Apsarās, Guhyakas, Yakṣas*, and all Gods. From a practical angle, as all the spectators may not be interested or free to view the preparations, these are performed behind a temporary curtain i.e. *yavanikā*. Those like women, children and idlers who come early, love to watch the technical preparations and preliminary rehearsals. The late comers do not miss the actual dramatic performance. Thus these *antaryavanikā* items are partly religious and partly entertaining.

The group two of *purvaraṅga* comprises nine items such as *utthāpanā, parivartana, nāndī, śuṣkāvakṛṣṭa, raṅgadvāra, cārī, mahācārī, trigata* and *prarocanā*. This group is purely ritual in nature and is intended to be presented *bahiryavanikā* i.e. before the spectators. It is a sacrifical ceremony performed on the stage by *sūtradhāra* and his assitants for successful performance of the drama without any obstacle. The *sūtradhāra* worships the deities, *lokapālas, jarjara* and orchestra, and the *sūtradhāra* himself is worshipped by his assistant. It is observed in a sacrifice, a *Brāhmaṇa*, who performs the sacrifice, is worshipped by the *yajamāna* since the *Brāhmaṇa* acts as a mediator between *yajamāna* and the God. Similarly in this sacrifice, *sūtradhāra* is a mediator between the spectators and the deity. Therefore, he is worshipped. In ritual angle, spreading of flowers on stage suggests that the place is sacralized for the ceremony. The *sūtradhāra* and his assistants clad in white garments and the *sūtradhāra* carrying white flowers symbolize purity, prosperity and brilliance. Flowers are offered to the *Brahmamaṇḍala* which is at the centre of the stage. The *maṇḍala* drawn in different colours is not a decorative imagery for the ritual. It is a pictorial representation of the process of decent of the supreme consciousness. It provides a potent material focus for the operation of subtler forces within and without. It is used for concentrating on cosmic and phychic energy. Brahmā is the deity of the *maṇḍala*[7]. Then the *sūtradhāra* performs three salutations apparently for Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa, the three principal deities of the *Nāṭya*. *Sūtradhāra* circumambulates the

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6. *Taittirīya Upaniṣad: Brahmānandāvallī, Īśādiviṁśottaraśatopaniṣadaḥ*, Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay 1948.

7. Shastri Madhusudan, *Natyashastra of Bharatamuni* 5:73, Banaras Hindu University. Varanasi. (1971).

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Brahmamaṇḍala. The circumambulation is done to influence, to honour or to purify. It is represented as a rite to ward off sinful influences and to obtain propitious influences. The *sūtradhāra* purifies himself by *ācamana* and *śauca* and performs *jarjarapūjā.* This *jarjara* symbolises Indra's weapon *Indradhvaja* with which he had warded off all *vighnas* during the initial performances of *nāṭya*[8]. It was given to *Vasu uparicara* by Indra for success in war and for the well being of the subjects[9]. *Jarjara* is a bamboo-staff and can be compared to the *yūpa,* the *vedic* sacrificial staff erected at the centre of the sacrificial ground. *Jarjara* appears as a principle vertical axis of the ritual space associated with the symbolic axis of the imaginary word (*axis mundi*). Symbolically, the elevation of *jarjara* must have been identical to that of the world-tree (*arbour mundi*) establishing a link between all parts of the universe and ending the chaos. The stage with its emphasized centre and vertical axis presents a cosmogonic picture of the world. *Sūtradhāra's* movements symbolically are meant to fix the border of the particular ritual space as coinciding with the border of the universe. In similar rites, the Siberians fix willow sticks at the rituals and around the house, more particularly to the eastern end of the dwelling[10]. In a changed form, it is seen in the churn-staff of *Izanagi* and *Izanami,* the Japanese primeval brother-sister couple[11]. A very polished form of the same is the *vedic-yūpa,* the *stūpa* of Varuṇa and even the churn-staff *Mandara* that churned the milky ocean creating various planets. *Jarjara* not only destroyed the enemies, but, helped in creation of a neat performance, i.e. from chaos to cosmos or from disharmony to harmony.

Nāndī are benedictory verses recited in a high pitch for the well being of the God, the Brahmin and the king etc. Gods are pleased when verses are recited in a high pitch. Even in present times, it is customary to sing *āratis* (prayers) in a high pitched voice, as observed during Gaṇapati festival or at the *Satyanārāyaṇa pujā. Cārī* and *mahācārī* can be seen as two parts of one ritual dance. *Cārī* is connected with Umā, Śiva's wife, manifesting her creative urge i.e. *Śakti.* In its turn, *mahācārī* is directly associated with Śiva posing as Naṭarāja, the universal destroyer at the time of the cosmic death. Thus *Cārī* represents light and creation and *mahācārī* represents darkness and destruction. The magic model of universe which was created on stage is destroyed by *mahācārī.* The *trigata,*

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8. *Ibid,* I: 70.
9. *Mahābhārata, Ādiparva* 57: 17-27, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune (1933)
10. Mackezie Donald, *Myths of China And Japan,* p. 330, London
11. *Ibid,* p. 350.

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which follows after *mahācārī,* is an expressive verbal exchange, a stormy debate dominated by *vidūṣaka* and the *sūtradhāra's* second assistant. The verbal dual characteristic of the *Bhāratī-vṛtti* in *trigata* is mythologically based on the *Nāṭyaśastra* legend about the divine origin of the four *vṛttis*[12]. After *pralaya,* while Viṣṇu was resting, *asuras* Madhu and Kaiṭabha took flight with him. Brahmā ordered Viṣṇu to kill those demons. Viṣṇu created *Bhāratī-vṛtti* among other weapons as the strongest which enabled him to conquer the *Asuras.* The myth presents an episode on which another cycle of creation rests. *Mahācārī* symbolizes final destruction of the scenic space while the *trigata* shows its potential revival in a new cosmic cycle. In *trigata,* the *sūtradhāra* is identified as Brahmā, his assistant as Viṣṇu and the *vidūṣaka* as *Asura. Prarocanā* is meant to guarantee divine protection for the *Nāṭya* played right after the *pūrvaraṅga.*

Indians in general are very religious in nature and hence they prefer to begin all their acts with a prayer to the Gods and the acts themselves are dedicated to the Gods. It is therefore not surprising that the performance of a drama also begins with a prayer to the Gods, conveyed through the *pūrvaraṅga.*

Further it would be interesting to see how this Indian influence has spread to the preliminaries of performing arts in South East Asia.[13] In fact, India is acknowledged as "a source of most of the theaters in Asia". In the first millennium of the Christian era, the Indian travelers and priests spread Indian culture to Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, Indonesia, Malaysia and China. The classical performing arts like dance, dramas, puppet theatres and shadow plays in those countries show Indian influence. In Thailand, a dance drama-form (*Lakon*) shows elaborate preliminary rituals called *Prelang.* The rite is performed by two masked actors holding peacock feathers in their hands. There is no singing but only playing of drums and music during this ritual (*śuṣkavādya*). In *Khon,* a masked pantomime, ritual worship of Gaṇeśa and *Vairāvaṇa* (God of dance) is held before a performance. The actors pray before an Indianized mask of *Khon* in the dressing room. The text of the prayer also has a Sanskrit influence. In *Noh* plays of Japan, the preliminary ritual (*Okina*) has a strong resembalance to the preliminary *pūrvaraṅga* ceremonies of ancient Sanskrit theatre. In this, private worship of the mask is done by the troupe in the dressing room. Then the principal actor enters the stage unmasked, holding in his

12. Mishra Brajvallabha, *Natyashastram* XX: 2-6, Siddhartha Publications, New Delhi (1997).

13. Mehta Tarla, *Sanskrit Play Production in Ancient India,* Motilal Banarasidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Delhi. (1995)

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hand the same mask which was worshipped earlier. The actor goes to the singers and starts a dialogue with them with sentences closely resembling the dance, and then the third actor - a comedian (*Vidūṣaka*) joins with an energetic dance. Significantly, this third actor wears a tall cap and has a white face with red and green dots and lines on it. The three actors pray for the well being of the patrons and invoke God's blessings for success of the performance.

From above observations it is clear that the *pūrvaraṅga* preliminaries are not merely technical but are performed as a rite, in which a symbolic model of cosmos is created and all the deities are worshiped with the help of music, songs and dance. This being *pūrvaraṅga*, logically it is to be followed by *uttararaṅga* that is the drama proper. So the magic model of universe is destroyed before the actual drama. These preliminaries also elevate the mood of the spectators and make them *sahṛdayas* so that they can appreciate the drama better and have the *rasāsvāda*.

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MĀRA IN THE BUDDHIST LITERATURE

NARASINGHA CHARAN PANDA*

Māra is a multi-layered concept in the Buddhist literature. The term 'māra' is derived from the root *mṛ* - with the suffix *ghañ*, meaning 'to kill, to slay', etc. In the *Amarakośa*, Māra is stated as an epithet of Madana, the god of Kāma (*madano manmatho māraḥ*).[1]

In the *Atharvaveda*, the word Māra is used in the sense of Yama, Death, the destroyer and evil killer :

यमो मृत्युरघमारो निर्ऋथो वभ्रुःशर्वोऽस्ता नीलशिखण्डः ।[2]

The above *mantra* is a prayer for protection from the enemy or danger. The gods like Yama, 'Death', killer of the evil and others are being prayed to protect our heroes.

At another place in the *Atharvaveda*, Māra is known as 'Pāpman', i.e. evil one.

अव मा पाप्मन्त्सृज वशी सन् मृडयासि नः ।
आ मा भद्रस्य लोके पाप्मन् धेह्यविह्रुतम् ॥[3]

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 'Death' (*mṛtyu*) is explained as Pāpmā.[4] Māra is called Namuci in the Buddhist Literature. In the Pāli text like *Sutta Nipāta*[5] (*Namuci karuṇaṁ vācaṁ*) and Buddhist Sanskrit texts like *Mahāvastu*[6] and *Lalitavistara*[7], Māra is called

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1. *Amarakośa*, I.1.25.
2. *Atharvaveda*, VI.93.1.
3. *Ibid.*, VI.26.I.
4. तानि अस्य गर्भऽ एव सन्ति पाप्मा मृत्युरगृह्णात् । ..... सर्वाणि भूतानि पाप्मनो मृत्योः स्पृणोति ..... ॥ शतपथब्राह्मण, VIII.4.2.1-2; cf. कृष्णवन्धु पार्पीमं ... । महावस्तु अवदान, II.238(7).
5. *Padhāna Sutta*, Verse 2 (P.T.S. 426).
6. नमुचि करुणां वाचं भाषमाण इहागमत् । महावस्तु अवदान, II. 238 (II.26.2).
7. XXI.173.

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Namuci. In the *Ṛgveda* also Namuci is described as a demon (*asura*).[8] The words like: Māra, Namuci and Pāpman (*pāpimā*) are found in the pre-Buddhist Literature in the sense of non-liberator, i.e. an opponent of liberation or *Nirvāṇa*.

In the Pāli Buddhist texts, Māra is known as Kaṇha. The *Sutta Nipāta*, however, describes it as :

कण्हस्स सोतं दीघरत्तानुसयितं । अतारि जातिमरणं असेसं ।[9]

The Buddha has passed beyond all birth and death, the stream of Kaṇha, which has long been latent (in him). The *Dīgha Nikāya*[10] also describes Māra as Kaṇha (*pisāce pi Kaṇhā ti sañjānanti*).

In the Buddhist Mythology Māra is a very prominent figure. It always follows Buddha's religious and true austerity life. Due to Māra's bad intention for providing different materialistic happiness to the Buddha, his austerity life became prejudiced. But the great Buddha's *sādhanā* was free from Māra's bad influence and inert effort. Māra was a dominant figure in Gautama Buddha's period as he has an assembly. In the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* of Dīgha Nikāya, the Buddha tells Ānanda, one of his great disciples, that (out of eight *pariṣadas*)[11] the wicked Māra has a regular assembly (*Māra-parisā*), through which he was controlling religious and saintly minded persons as well as Bodhisattvas. In *Māratajjaniya Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, Mahā Moggalāna says that he was formerly a Māra, named Dūsī (in the sense of *duṣṭa* or *pāpi* or wicked in nature) and committed a number of sins in that life. As said in the text:

"भूतपुब्बाहं, पापिम, दूसी नाम मारो अहो सिं ॥"

It is known that Māra's nature and intention was not proper and favourable for the Buddha's austerity life. The *Mārasaṁyutta* chapter of *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, which contains twenty-five *suttas* (sub-chapters), elaborately describes Māra's true nature and his real intention through various interesting and practical experiences of the Buddha's *sāttvika* life.

युवं कुरामनाश्विना नमुचावासुरे सचा । ऋग्वेद, X.131.4.

सुत्तनिपात, verse 355; (II.12.13), cf. कण्हस्स पक्खेति, *Ibid.*, 967.

10.

(इमा, आनन्द, परिसा । कतमा अट्ठ?) the eight *pariṣadas* are : (1) खत्तियपरिसा, (2) ब्राह्मणपरिसा, (3) समणपरिसा, (5) चातुमहाराजिकपरिसा, (6) तावतिंसपरिसा, (7) मारपरिसा, and (8) ब्रह्मपरिसा । दीघनिकाय,

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These *Suttas (Sūtras)* which deal with Māra's bad influence to disturb the Buddha's true effort to obtain *Nirvāṇa* (enlightenment) are as under:

(1) Tapaḥkarma Sutta, (2) Hastirājavarṇa Sutta, (3) Śubha Sutta, (4) Prathama Mārapāśa Sutta, (5) Dvitīya Mārapāśa Sutta, (6) Sarpa Sutta, (7) Svapiti Sutta, (8) Nandati Sutta, (9) Prathama Āyuḥ Sutta. (10) Dvitīya Āyuḥ Sutta, (11) Pāṣāṇa Sutta, (12) Kinsusiṁha Sutta, (13) Śakalika Sutta, (14) Pratirūpa Sutta, (15) Mānasa Sutta, (16) Pātra Sutta, (17) Ṣaṭsparśāyatana Sutta, (18) Piṇḍa Sutta, (19) Kṛṣaka Sutta, (20) Rājya Sutta, (21) Sambahula Sutta, (22) Samṛddhi Sutta, (23) Godhika Sutta, (24) Saptavarṣānubandha Sutta, and *(25) Māradhītā Sutta.*

In these above *Suttas,* Māra tries either to threaten Buddha through various furious and wicked ways or to attract him through different worldy enjoyments for disturbing or not allowing him to move towards Bodhisattvahood. As is known a number of hurdles come in the religious path of the Buddha through *māyā* or Māra or any other ill-motivated characters. The same happened in the case of the Buddha when Māra appears in two different forms, viz. an elephant and a snake, in order to frighten him.[12] In addition to this, Māra assumes the form of a peasant and disturbs Buddha's ideal preaching.[13] He even tries to distract the audience by making terrific noise.

It is found in the *suttas* of *Mārasaṁyutta,* that Māra and his associates have advised the Buddha to enjoy all the worldly enjoyments or pleasures to dwell in his father's place as long as he possessed youth and health, to rule his prosperous kingdom and make himself fit and active for immortal godhood by offering the various sacrifices. This way, Māra has tried his best to offer all sorts of worldly amenities to the Buddha for diverting his mind from the way of *sādhanā* or meditation.

The Lord Buddha, however, replied Māra that he had no use of the tiniest of merits, but he wanted to attain the state from where there was no return (cf. *yad gatvā na nivartante tat dhāma paramaṁ mama*).[14] Nobody, said to Māra, that he has power to stop his bright efforts in that direction. He has strongly desired to offer fight to Māra's hosts which consisted of desire, discontent, hunger, thirst, craving, sloth and torpor, fear, doubt and pride, etc. Only a cowardly person cannot overcome this host of Māra - so replied

12. महन्तं हत्थिराज-वण्णं अभिनिम्मिनित्वा ... - संयुक्तनिकाय, मारसंयुत्तं, IV.1.2 (138) (and महन्तम् सप्पराज वण्णं ...). Vipassana Research Institute (V.R.I.) Edition
13. *Saṁyutta Nikāya,* I. p. 114 (P.T.S.).
14. *Bhagavad Gītā,* XV.6.

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the Bodhisattva, but he was sure that inspite of Māra he would be able to reach the place where all ills cease. After this the wicked Māra along with his cruel associates vanished from sight. Even Māra's three daughters (*Tṛṣṇā, Arati* and *Ragā*) have left the place, being defeated by the Lord. But in spite of their defeat, Māra has praised the virtuous eternal spiritual qualities of the Lord and said his daughters as :

सेलं व सिरसूहच्च, पाताले गाधमेसथ ।
खाणुं व उरसासज्ज, निब्बिज्झापेथ गोतमा'ति ॥
ददल्लमाना आगञ्छुं, तण्हा, च अरती रगा ।
ता तत्थ पनुदी सत्था, तूलं भट्ठं व मालुतो'ति ॥

-संयुत्तनिकाय, मारसंयुत्तं 4.25-35 (नालन्दा संस्करण)

In *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Māra appears twice and tries to assert his evil power over the Buddha, who sternly repels and repudiates him.[15] In *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātaka*, he attacks the Buddha with nine different storms of rain, wind, rocks, weapons, charcoal ashes, sand, mud and darkness; and his mighty elephant is 150 leagues in height.[16] However, in different Pāli texts Māra is described as *adhipati* (chief), *antegu* (destroyer), *pamatabandhu* (friend of the passionate), *maccu* (death), *kaṇha* (black), *namuci* (non-liberator entity of *Nirvāṇa)*, active, mischievous imp and a celestial being. This is his personal aspect that he is considered as a mythological Puruṣa (being), with a distinct individuality, like Sakka and other *devas*. But there is also an impersonal aspect of Māra. In various texts, he is regarded merely as the symbol of evil, sin, wicked, desire and temptation. Māra is even addressed as *'pāpi'* by the Divine Lord in the *Majjhima Nikāya*.[17] Various sensuous pleasures, i.e. worldly enjoyments and the sixfold 'sphere of sense', viz. *śabda, sparśa (kāya), rūpa, rasa, gandha* and *manas* are said to be Māra's domain *(pāpima, cakkhu, tava rūpā tava cakkhusamphassaviññāṇāyatanaṁ)*.[18] He cannot obtain entrance *(otāra)*, if a monk practises virtue and self-control (*labhati tassa māro otāraṁ labhati tassa māro ārammaṇaṁ*).[19] In *Padhāna Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipāta*, Māra's mythical persoanlity is not prominent, he serves only as a symbol of temptation. When the Buddha was

15. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, I, pp. 21-22 (*baddho'si sabba pāsehi*, etc.).
16. *Jātaka*, I. 72-73 (P.T.S.).
17. 'मारो अयं पापिमा' - इति विदित्वा ... संयुत्तनिकायपालि, मारसंयुत्तं 1 (P.T.S. I. 103); cf. मारं पापिमन्तं एतदवोच - मज्झिमनिकाय, मारतज्जनीयसुत्तं, *Sutta* 50.1.
18. *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, I.115 (IV.19).
19. *Majjhima Nikāya*, III.94.

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meditating near the Nirañjanā River, Māra tried in vain to obstruct his effort for attaining enlightenment. He said that the way of meditation or *sādhanā* or *tapasyā* is very difficult and it is not even easy to obtain *Nirvāṇa* (*duggo maggo padhānāya, dukkaro durabhisambhavo*).[20] In spite of several obstructions by Māra, the Buddha was not disappointed. He addressed Māra as *'pamattabandhu', 'pāpī'* and said: 'why you have come here? I do not seek your advice to perform *Agnihotra* sacrifice and to step down from this tedious path of meditation, because you are not a pious and faithful adviser, as sensual pleasures are your first *senā* (*army*), discontent is called your second; your third is hunger and thirst; and fourth is called craving. Sloth and *torpor* are your fifth; the sixth is called fear; the seventh is doubt; hypocrisy and obstinacy are your eighth *senā*:

कामा ते पठमा सेना, दुतिया अरति वुच्चति ।
ततिया खुप्पिपासा ते, चतुत्थी तण्हा पवुच्चति ॥
पञ्चमं थीनमिद्धं ते, छट्ठा भीरु, पवुच्चति ।
सत्तमी विचकिच्छा ते, मक्खो थम्भो ते अट्ठमो ॥[21]

Māra's eight armies are always creating problems for the *brāhmaṇas, śramaṇas* and other *sādhakas.* One who is an *asura* cannot conquer it, but having conquered it one obtains happiness - ''न तं असूरो जिनाति, जेत्वा च लभते सुखं''[22]. But the Buddha having positive approach in mind has defeated Māra's great army through his Divine wisdom and power. Thus, Māra had followed the Buddha for seven years, looking for any weakness in him, but finally failed to get an opportunity against the fully enlightened one, who possesses mindfulness. In the words of Māra:

सत्त वस्सानि भगवन्तं, अनुबन्धि पदापदं ।
ओतारं नाधिगच्छिस्सं, सम्बुद्धस्स सतीमतो ॥[23]

Māra has also a personal and an impersonal aspect as found in the Buddhist Sanskrit literature. In his personal aspect, he is the chief of the *devatās,* who are collectively called 'the *mārakāyikas.*'[24] There are good number of these gods.[25] In the *Buddhacarita* of

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20. *Sutta Nipāta,*429 (III.2.5).
21. *Ibid.,* 436-37 (III.2.12-13); cf. *Mahāvastu Avadāna,* II. 240 (verse 19-21).
22. *Ibid.,* 439 (III.2.15).
23. *Ibid.,* 446 (III.2.22).
24. सर्वमारमारकायिकदेवता निर्जेतुकामेन निर्जेतुकामेन सर्वावरणीयानि ... । शिक्षासमुच्चय, XIV.20 (244, P.T.S.).
25. *Lalitavistara,* 283.20.

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Aśvaghoṣa, Māra is known as the Lord of Kāma or Kāmadeva and also designated as the enemy of the eternal law and liberation (कामप्रचाराधिपतिं तमेव मोक्षद्विषं मारमुदाहरन्ति).[26] He is the supreme ruler of the world where passions have their free play, and beings are all subject to disease, decay and death. When Siddhārtha was sitting at the foot of the Bodhi tree to obtain omniscience, Māra with his three sons, Vibhrama (caprice), Harṣa (gaiety) and Darpa (wantonness) and with his three daughters Arati (discontent), Prīti (delight) and Tṛṣṇā (thirst) and himself armed with the flowery arrow (*puṣpa-śara*), came to the Aśvattha tree to disturb him.[27] His army consists of his followers who appear in many ghastly forms and carry various weapons. Some have the faces of boars, fishes, horses, asses, and camels, or the countenances of tigers, lions, and elephants; some are one-eyed, many-mouthed, three-headed, with pendulous bellies and speckled bellies.[28] All conceivable ugly, horrible and terrific shapes, forms and countenances are given to them. All grimaces, frowning, frightening, hurling, brandishing, wild orgies are described as their characteristic actions. Māra is a stubborn fighter and artful at the same time. He tries all means from the hurlings of rocks and mountains down to coaxing and cajoling, enticing and softening to keep all under his sway. His daughters are the bewitchers of hearts of men, his sons the generators of violent passions in them, while his forces are suckers of the vital essence of the mind. However, in a different manner Māra tries to allure Siddhārtha (the), the mighty *kṣatriya* and advised him to follow his own *dharma*, i.e. *kṣātradharma* over the country as a king) and give up the *dharma* or path of liberation, subdue both with arrows and with sacrifices and obtain the world of *Vāsava*, i.e. get of Indra or *Indrapada* through the duty of a true *kṣatriya*. As the poet says in

भोः क्षत्रिय मृत्युभीत चर स्वधर्मं त्यज मोक्षधर्मम् ।
च यज्ञैश्च विनीय लोकं लोकात्पदं प्राप्नुहि वासवस्य ॥ [29]

tried to tempt the Buddha in various ways, but in vain and finally, he left the

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, XIII.2cd.

चा ... जगन्मोहकरांश्च पञ्च ।

...दस्वास्थ्यकारी मनसः प्रजानाम् ॥ *Ibid.*, XIII.7.

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In the *Saundarānanda Kāvya*, Aśvaghoṣa also describes Buddha's victory over Māra and his army, through his deep meditation and firm patience. By defeating Māra he has achieved the great eternal abode or graceful *Nirvāṇa*. (मारबलमजयदुग्रमथो बुबुधे पदं शिवमहार्यमव्ययम् ।)[30] The gods are delighted on Buddha's victory over Māra and his army. But on the contrary the associates of Māra are totally disappointed and returned.

Fetters of Māra *(Māra Bandhana)*:

Māra, the greatest opponent of enlightenment, is depicted in different Pāli texts in the appearance of a thoroughly personified supernatural and bitterest enemy of the Buddha, as also in the form of an abstract *(nirākāra)* idea of metaphysical character; the idea of the evil and ignorance in opposition to the good and insight. The fetter of Māra was really an obstacle for the Buddha in the way of his religious journey.

One is entangled in the snares *(pāśa)* of Māra, if he has any attachment towards any beautiful form, tasty food, attractive things, etc. Hence, it is recorded in the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*[31] :

सन्ति, भिक्खवे, चक्खुविञ्ञेय्या रूपा इट्ठा कन्ता मनापा पियरूपा कामूपसंहिता रजनीया । तं चे, भिक्खु, अभिनन्दति अभिवदति अज्झोसाय तिट्ठति - अयं वुच्चति, भिक्खवे, भिक्खु आवासगतो मारस्य, मारस्य वसं गतो, पटिमुक्कस्स मारपासो । बद्धो सो मारबन्धनेन यथाकामकरणीयो पापिमतो ... पे. ।

Especially, a Bhikkhu who is practising meditation for obtaining *Nirvāṇa* should remain separate from the worldly alluring things. Hence, it is observed that a Bhikkhu, who has some worldly attachment, is entangled by the snares of Māra.[32]

The *Dhammapada* is one of the most popular books of the *Tripiṭaka*. It is a collection of the moral teachings of the Lord Buddha. The pious discourses of the Buddha advise to the Bhikkhus for controlling their sense-organs in order to stay disentangled from the fetters or snares of Māra. The *kilesmāra* or the defilements hindering the realization of *Nirvāṇa*, is as follows :

शुभमनुपश्यन्तं विहरन्तं इन्द्रियेषु असंवृतम् ।
भोजनेऽमात्रज्ञं कुसीदं हीनवीर्यम् ।
तं वै प्रसहते मारो वातो वृक्षमिव दुर्ब्बलम् ॥[33]

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30. *Saundarānanda*, III.7cd.
31. सळायतनसंयुत्तं, लोककामगुणवग्गो दुतियो, पठममारपाससंयुत्तं (Vol. IV, p. 91, P.T.S.).
32. संयुत्तनिकाय, खन्ध संयुत्तं, अरहन्त वग्गो, उपादियमानसुत्तं (Vol. III, p. 73, P.T.S.).
33. *Dhammapada*, *Yamakavagga*, verse 7.

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The verse clearly states that a Bhikkhu who keeps his mind in enjoyable objects, who is uncontrolled in his senses, immoderate in eating, and lazy and lacking in energy, is overpowered by wicked Māra, just like a weak tree, uprooted in the stormy wind.

Those who can restrain their mind and check his propensities can escape from the snares of Māra.

अशुभमनुपश्यन्तं विहरन्तं इन्द्रियेषु सुसंवृतम् ।
भोजने च मात्राज्ञं श्रद्धं आरब्धवीर्यम् ।
तं वै न प्रसहते मारो वातः शैलमिव पर्वतम् ॥[34]

The Bodhisattva or the Bhikkhu who keeps his mind on the impurities of the body, who is well-controlled in his senses, moderate in his food, confident and energetic, cannot be overthrown by Māra, just as stormy winds cannot shake a mountain of rock.

Hence, it is clear that Māra will certainly overthrow a Bhikkhu or a Bodhisattva who is unrestrained in his senses, immoderate in his food, idle and weak.

One should fight with Māra with the weapon of Divine knowledge or Spiritual wisdom.

दूरंगमं एकचरं अशरीरं गुहाशयम् ।
ये चित्तं संयंस्यन्ति मुच्यन्ते मारबन्धनात् ॥[35]

Going far, wandering alone, formless and lying or sleeping in a cave is the nature of function of mind. Those who control their mind from the worldly objects and enjoyments are free from the fetters of Māra.

Lord Buddha always advised his disciples to keep distance from *vāsanā, taṇhā, kāma,* etc. for obtaining Bodhisattvahood or *Nirvāṇa.* He says: dig up the root of craving, just as one who wishes to have the fragrant root, digs up the *bīraṇa* grass. Do not let Māra to destroy you again and again, like the flood which destroys the reeds on the river bank. In the words of Buddha:

तण्हाय मूलं खणथ, उसीरत्थो व वीरणं ।
मा वो नलं व सोतो व, मारोभञ्जि पुनप्पुनं ॥[36]

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34. *Ibid.*, verse 8.
35. *Ibid., Cittavagga,* verse 5.
36. *Ibid., Taṇhāvagga,* verse 4.

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The Lord further states: 'O Bhikkhus! Give up the past, future and present. Having reached the end of existences, with a mind freed from all conditioned things, you will not again undergo birth and decay *(jarā)*.' He who delights in quieting his thoughts, who meditates on what, is unpleasant, and who is ever mindful in every aspect, will definitely get rid of craving. Finally, he cuts the fetters of Māra. As rightly said:

वितर्कोपशमे च यो रतोऽशुभं भावयते सदा स्मृतः ।
एष खलु व्यन्ती करिष्यति एष छेत्स्यति मारबन्धनम् ॥[37]

Hence, a desireless (without *vāsanā*) person can be freed from the bond of Māra.

According to Buddhism, the best of paths is the Eightfold Path (*āṣṭāṅgikamārga*). This is the path pointed out by the Buddha for liberation from the cycle of existences. According to the *Dhammapada* one can make oneself free from Māra, if one has attained the noble eightfold path.

एष व मार्गो नाऽस्त्यन्यो दर्शनस्य विशुद्धये ।
एतं हि यूयं प्रतिपद्यध्वं मारस्यैष प्रमोहनः ..[38]

This is the only Path, and there is none other that leads to the completely pure vision, i.e. understanding. Follow this Great Path and finally it will bewilder Māra.

The text further records that true meditation is the only way through which one can be freed from the fetters of Māra,[39] because, those who practise the tranquillity and meditation are freed from the snares of Māra.

Besides *Dhammapada,* some other Pāli texts also record the discussion on the fetters of Māra and the means to get released from it. The Buddha had a strong belief that Māra cannot destroy the *Dhammacakka,* i.e. Wheel of Law.[40] According to the *Udāna,* a Bhikkhu whose mind is not protected, who has false belief and who is idle, comes under the control of Māra.

अरक्खितेन कायेन मिच्छादिट्ठिगतेन च ।
थिनमिद्धाभिभूतेन, वसं मारस्स गच्छति ॥[41]

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37. *Ibid., Taṇhāvagga,* verse 17.
38. *Ibid., Maggavagga,* verse 2.
39. प्रतिपन्नाः प्रमोक्ष्यन्ते ध्यायिनो मारबन्धनात् । *Ibid.,* verse 4.
40. *Nettiprakaraṇa,* pp. 8-9 (P.T.S.).
41. *Udāna* (मेघियवग्ग) IV.2 (P.T.S. 38).
Cf. अरक्खितेन चित्तेन ... वसं मारस्य गच्छतीति । नेत्तिप्रकरण, III.13.1 (p. 85, P.T.S.).

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It means, as a result of body being unguarded, and as a result of being slain by wrong view, as a result of being overcome by sloth and torpor, a Bhikkhu comes under the direct control of Māra.

The *Visuddhimagga* exclusively states that the one who has freed himself from the ties of the world, is fit to overcome Māra with his strong associate army.[42] A *yogī* or *sādhaka,* who remains fixed in his seat spending his whole time in meditation, can easily subdue Māra.[43] It is very interesting to note that Bhikkhus living within the Buddha's state are not overcome by the fetters of Māra. The Buddha assured the Bhikkhus by saying that if you regularly live within the state of your father or *guru* or Lord (i.e. the Buddha), you will not be subdued by Māra.[44] According to the *Itivuttaka,* Māra is conquered by a Bhikkhu who is totally free from worldly attachment, and who has exalted triumphant over all pains and sufferings and will not born again in this world.[45] Those who are under the domain of passion, delusion, anger and illusion, are really ignorant of the *āryadharmas* and they cannot liberate themselves from the snares of Māra.[46] The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* asserts that a Bhikkhu who follows true *dharma* can conquer over Māra. The text refers as :

धर्माधिपो च अनुधम्मचारी, न हीयति सच्चपरक्कमो मुनि ।
पसय्ह मारं अभिभुय्य अन्तकं, यो च फुसी जातिक्खयं पधानवा ।
सो तादिमो लोकविदू सुमेधो, सब्बेसु धम्मेसु अतम्मयो मुनी ''ति'' ॥[47]

On the basis of *dharma,* if the *muni* meditates on the God, he never sees behind on the way of his religious journey. True devotion and sincere effort in practising austerity must help him to vanquish Māra. At another place in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* it is clarified that a Bhikkhu who puts forth the right effort in performing *Yoga* and transcendental meditation in a proper direction, and who has conquered the kingdom of Māra, is not subject to rebirth and death.

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42. *Visuddhimagga,* Vol. I, p. 73 (P.T.S.).
43. *Ibid.,* Vol. I, p. 79 (P.T.S.).
44. *Niddesa,* Vol. I, p. 475 (P.T.S.).
45. *Itivuttaka,* p. 58 (P.T.S.).
46. *Ibid.,* p. 92 (P.T.S.).
47. अंगुत्तरनिकाय, तिक्कनिपातो, देवदूतवग्गो, अधिपतेय्यसुत्तं (I. 250, P.T.S.).

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सम्मप्पधाना मारधेय्याभिभूता,
ते असिता जातिमरणभयस्स पारगू ।
ते तुसिता जेत्वा मारं सवाहिनिं ते अनेजा,
सब्बं नमुचिबलं उपातिवत्ता ते सुखिता ''ति'' ।।[48]

Finally, after destroying the evil power of Namuci (i.e. Māra), the *muni* lives in the Tuṣita world with full bliss.

Māra went to that place where the Buddha was staying and having approached him, he addressed the Blessed One by the following verse:

बद्धोसि मारपासेहि ये दिब्बा ये च मानुसा ।
महाबन्धनबद्धोसि न मे समण मोक्खसी'ति ।।[49]

You are bound by Māra's fetters, human being and Divine. Thou art bound by strong fetters of mine and hence you will not be delivered from me, O Śramaṇa (the Buddha).

The Buddha, having pious thought in mind, strongly replied Māra in the following words:

मुत्ताहं मारपासेहि ये दिब्बा ये च मानुसा ।
महाबन्धनमुत्तोम्हि निहतो त्वमसि अन्तका ति ।।[50]

Being a Man or Divine, I am totally free from the strong fetters of Māra. You know this fact. Then Māra understood that the Blessed One recognized me and my evil intention and vanished away.

It is properly advised that those monks who know the great suffering provided by Māra are really unbearable in the way of their meditation. Hence, to be freed from the snares of Māra, they must go for the shelter of the Lord Buddha. This is the only way to get success in their spiritual life. The *Majjhima Nikāya* rightly says:

यो एतमभिजानाति, भिक्खु बुद्धस्स सावको ।
तादिसं भिक्खुमासज्ज, कण्ह दुःखं निगच्छसि ।।[51]

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48. *Ibid.*, चतुक्कनिपातो, चरवग्गो, पधानसुत्तं (II. 15, P.T.S.) (4.2.3, V.R.I. Edn.)
49. विनयपिटक, महावग्ग, I.12.
50. *Ibid.*
51. मज्झिमनिकाय, मारतज्जनीय सुत्त (337, P.T.S.).

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The Supernatural Powers of the Buddha always protect Bhikkhus from the evil influence of Māra, because without proper guidance and kind Blessings of the Lord Buddha, it was difficult for the monks to attain the Highest Bliss.

Māra was confusing and ill-motivating to the Bhikkhus through his wicked sons, daughters and army personnel. Althougth the sons of Māra are innumerable as the sands of the Ganges; but according to the *Lalitavistara* their number can reach to thousant (मारस्य पापीयसः पुत्रसहस्रम्).[52] Some of the prominent sons of Māra as mentioned in the text[53] are : Sārthavāha, Durmati, Madhuranirghoṣa, Śatavāhu, Subuddhi, Ugratejā, Sunetra, Dīrghavāhu, Prasādapratilabdha, Bhayaṅkara, Ekāgramatirāha, Avatāraprekṣī, Puṇyālaṅkāra, Anivartī, Dharmakāma, Anupaśānta, Siddhārtha, Ratilola, Dharmamati, Vātajava, Acalapati, Brahmamati, or Mandamati, Siṁhamati, Sarvacaṇḍāla, Siṁhanādī, Duścintitācintī and Sucintitārtha.

Bhadrasena, the chief commander of Māra's army, said to Māra that "all the *devatās, gandharvas, kinnaras* are sincerely extending their regards and devotions to the Buddha. Besides, your wise and mighty sons are even liking and greatly respecting him".[54] The *Mahāvastu* simply states that Māra's son Sārthavāha and Janīsuta tried to dissuade him from attacking the Bodhisattva.[55]

According to the *Lalitavistara* (chapter XXI; 377-378, P.T.S.), Māra dreams thirty-two ominous signs that seem to foretell his doom. Some of his dreams are described as: (1) Māra's place has been overshadowed by darkness; (2) he runs away through fear; (3) he sees that he is leaving his crown; (4) he sees that the feathers of goose, crane, peacock, etc. are falling; (5) he sees that musical instruments, e.g. drums, kettle drums, conches, etc. break into pieces and fall down on the ground. For this, Māra advised his followers to be careful and addressed them by saying, "One who is endowed with all the good signs and who has undergone many difficulties, comes of the Śākya family, and will subdue the members of the devil's power and strength." I have heard from the heaven that the Buddha, the Blessed One, has obtained the Highest Bliss, i.e. *Nirvāṇa*. So it is not bearable

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52. *Lalitavistara*, 387 (Ch. XXI. 24).
53. Chapter XXI (P.T.S. 387-397).
54. ये च तवेमे पुत्राः प्रज्ञामेधाविनश्च बलिनश्च ।
    ते बोधिसत्त्वहृदयं अनुप्रविष्टा नमस्यन्ति ॥ ललितविस्तर, XXI. 68 (398, P.T.S.).
55. *Mahāvastu*, II. 408.10ff.

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for us, because, after *bodhiprāpti,* the Buddha will definitely seek the release of his disciples. Henceforth, you all my followers, go there, i.e. near *Bodhivṛkṣa,* to puzzle the Blessed One, so that his mind will be diverted from the high spiritual path.[56] Durmati, one of the Māra's devil sons, has assured his father for destabilizing the Buddha. He said, "my eye-sight can render twain hearts of beings whom it will touch, and can divide the essence of the oldest tree in the world. No being, who shall fall my sight, can survive. Hence, I fix my cruel eyes on the Buddha, he will have no power to breath again or survive."[57] Another devil son of Māra was also in a terrific mood. He also threatened the Buddha to throw him into the deep sea. He further adds:

स बोधिवृक्षमुत्पाट्य क्षेप्स्ये पाण्या दिशो दशः ॥[58]

I will throw the *Bodhivṛkṣa* in ten different directions after cutting into pieces.

On the contrary, even some sons of Māra are worshipping and respecting the Buddha as a 'symbol of peace'. These honest and spiritual minded sons of Māra are : Sārthavāha, Madhuranirghoṣa, Subuddhi, Sunetra, Prasāda-pratilabdha, Ekāgramati, Puṇyālaṅkāra, Dharmakāma, Siddhārtha, Dharmarati, Siṁhanādī, Sucintitārtha, Acalapati etc. They said to Māra and their wicked brothers: the Buddha is a saintly minded man. He is pure in body, mind and speech (*vāc*). He has seen your frightful and terrible army but does not get frightened. Surely he will conquer you all as a great hero. It is impossible, you must not think of harming him, but be humble and have faith in the Buddha, the Blessed One. Hence, it is better to go back without fighting with him.[59] Māra's religious minded sons this way tried to dissuade him from attaching the Buddha. But the wicked Māra ignored the advice of his spiritual minded sons and ordered his army to attack the Buddha for the last time with such a violent force as would not spare his life. Māra's strong army charged the Buddha with all sorts of weapons and implements and with various satanic means but their hopes and cruel attempts were frustrated. His evil followers were utterly defeated by the Divine Power of the Buddha. The *Lalitavistara* has elaborately discussed the victory

56. *Lalitavistara,* XXI. 163 (P.T.S. 426).

57. का शक्तिरस्ति मम दृष्टिहतस्य तस्य
संजीवितुं, जगति मृत्युहतस्य -वाऽस्तु ॥ *Ibid.*, XXI. 26 (P.T.S. 388).

58. *Ibid.*, XXI. 39 cd (P.T.S. 391).

59. तस्मान्निवर्तामह तात सर्वे । *Ibid.*, XXI. 52 (393, P.T.S.).
cf. निवर्तितव्यं क्षमं प्राज्ञैः । *Ibid.*, XXI. 74 (398, P.T.S.).
Also cf. श्रेयो भवे प्रतिनिवर्तितुमद्य तात ॥ *Ibid.*, XXI. 137 (421, P.T.S.).

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of the Buddha over the enemy Māra in a most commanding way:

देवासुरा-गरुड-राक्षसकिन्नरेन्द्रा
ब्रह्माथ शक्र परनिर्मित साकनिष्ठाः ।
भाषन्ति तस्य विजयं जय लोकवीर
यत्रेदृशी नमुचिसेन त्वया निरस्ता ॥[60]

At the end, the Devendra (Indra), Asurendra, Garuḍendra, Rākṣasendra, Kinnarendra, Brahmā and other gods including the gods of *Bodhivṛkṣas*[61] had congratulated the Lord Buddha for his great victory over the evil power of Māra and his army. Then, while the Buddha was being worshipped and honoured by the *devatās* and Lord Brahmā with flowers, etc., Māra's religious minded (pious) sons brought an umbrella and a big canopy for the Buddha and with folded hands they eulogized the Great Lord in these words: "Oh Blessed One, we bow down to you with sincere devotion and great respects, because you have defeated us. You are only Divine Being who exerts for the welfare of the beings in this universe. The devils and other harmful powers could not oppose your religious activity, nor could they shake you from your place of meditation under the pious Bodhi tree. Finally, Māra came to the Buddha and told him that it was the time for his attainment of *Nirvāṇa* and after obtaining this he should leave this universe. But the Buddha was not pleased with the advice of Māra, rather he said, "My disciples are devoted and quite firm in their faith; until I see them free from sufferings and constantly established in the world of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha, I shall not leave this world."

It can be safely concluded that the fight of the Buddhas or Bodhisattvas with Māra is a struggle against the fetters and hindrances that stand in the way to achieve the emancipation, i.e. *Nirvāṇa*. It is just a war between good and bad ideology and between *daivī-pravṛtti* and *āsurī-pravṛtti*, just like the war of Indra and Vṛtra, as described in the *Ṛgveda*.[62] However, this may be a war among the *indriyas* of human beings as happening

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60. *Ibid.*, XXI. 199 (438, P.T.S.).

61. The gods of (eight) *Bodhivṛkṣas* are: Śrī, Vṛddhi, Tapā, Śreyasī, Vidu, Ojobalā, Satyavādinī and Samaṅginī.
अथ खलु भिक्षवस्तस्मिन् समयेऽष्टौ बोधिवृक्षदेवताः । तद्यथा - श्रीः, वृद्धि, तपा, श्रेयसी, विदुः, ओजोबला सत्यवादिनी समङ्गिनी च । *Ibid.*, 139, Prose text (421-422, P.T.S.).

62. *Ṛgveda* I.32 (cf. Griswold, H.D., *The Religion of the Ṛgveda*, pp. 178-86 Oxford, 1923).

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in our day to day life. Sometimes, it is also seen, when we intend to perform any religious ceremony, many obstacles come in our way to complete it. As said: *'śreyāṁsi bahu vighnāni'*. So, Māra may be known as some weak state of mind through which the right decision or any auspicious work cannot be taken or performed properly. However, by controlling one's own mind and sense organs one can control Māra, and finally he will reach the destination of his life, i.e. emancipation or *Nirvāṇa.*

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WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO KĀLIDĀSA
(with Special Reference to Two *Sarasvatīstotras*)**

M. L. WADEKAR*

Introductory-

Kālidāsa is the most brilliant star in the galaxy of the Sanskrit poets of the Classical period. Even after the lapse of more than one thousand and five hundred years, he has been influencing the minds of not only Indians but even Foreigners, who have lauded him even as the Shakespeare of India. Generally accepted works of this great poet are the two *Mahākāvyas*- *Raghuvaṁśam* and *Kumārasambhavam*, two *Khaṇḍakāvyas*- *Meghadūtam* and *Ṛtusaṁhāram* and three dramas- *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*, *Vikramorvaśīayam*, *Mālavikāgnimitram*. These are his most famous works, authentically believed to be composed by him. But, there are still many works on diverse subjects, which are ascribed to him. Generally, the above seven works and the commentaries thereupon are generally studied and the other works ascribed and attributed to him are not given much attention to and have remained neglected. Focusing the attention of scholars and students upon these works and evaluating their general merit as poetic and philosophical works was a desideratum. With a grand and noble attitude of widening the area of study and research by making the scholars study and talk about these works, other than those in their curriculum, the organizers of the Seminar have chosen this topic of – Works Doubtfully Attributed to Kālidāsa.

But, the question remains -why these other works attributed to Kālidāsa have remained neglected and are not given much prominence. Many works are ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya e.g. *Saundaryalaharī*, *Carpaṭapañjarīstotram*, *Śivāparādhakṣamāpanastotram*, *Gurvaṣṭakam* etc. All of them are definitely not of Ādya Śaṅkarācārya, but are till this date revered to be of Śaṅkarācārya and are regularly read by the devotees and followers of Śaṅkarācārya. The sanctity, the effective spiritual and fruitful magic/tantric power, attached with these *stotras*

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as *Siddha-stotras* have great wish fulfilling effect on the minds of the masses and they are still honoured and read for last many centuries. Even the *Mahimnastotra* is regarded as a *Siddhastotra* for thousands of years. The powerful effect even of some *stotras* like *Hanumāncālisā*, *Dattabāvanī* or even the *Sarasvatīstotra* of P. P. Vasudevānanda Sarasvatī have impressed the minds of thousands of devotees. This is not the case with the *stotras* of Kālidāsa. Though he is believed to have composed many *stotra*-works relating to many Gods and Goddesses, they are not regularly read by any tradition. It might be that they might not have much appealed the scholars and masses. Hence it has become necessary to remind ourselves and find out works, ascribed to Kālidāsa. Some of his works are in Manuscript-form and some of them though printed and published are not even traceable in the Libraries. Names of more than 80 works ascribed to Kālidāsa are found from the details, available in the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*[1] and *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*[2] by Krishnamachariar. Besides *Mahākavi* Kālidāsa, Rajaśekhara has referred to *Kālidāsatrayī* in his famous verse[3]. Krishnmachariar[4] refers to them as 1. Mātṛgupta 600 B. C., 2. Medhārudra 57 B. C., 3. Koṭijit-1397-1430 A. D. The name of Kālidāsa is also prefixed and suffixed with some other epithets Akabarīya- Kālidāsa, Parimala- Kālidāsa, Iśvarakṛṣṇa- Kālidāsa, Kālidāsa - Yamakakavi, Kālidāsa -Bhaktakavi, Nava- Kālidāsa, Abhinava Kālidāsa, Kālidāsa gaṇaka, Kālidāsa -cakravartin, Kālidāsa -miśra, Kālidāsa Sārvabhauma-Bhaṭṭācārya. Some other Kālidāsas are : 1 Śambhu- Kālidāsa, 2 Rāmagovindaputra- Kālidāsa, 3 Balabhadraputra Kālidāsa, 4 Kāśyapa- Kālidāsa, 5 Nṛsiṁha Kavi- Kālidāsa, 6 Mādhava- Kālidāsa, 7 Gopālaśāstrin- Kālidāsa, 8 Kṛṣṇamūrti - Kālidāsa, 9 Vellala- Kālidāsa. These Kālidāsas have made contribution to many fields like *Kāvya*, *Stotra*, *Tantra*, Lexicography, Metrics, Philosophy, Grammar, *Āyurveda*, *Sāhityaśāstra*, *Jyotiṣa*, *Dharmaśāstra*, *Caturaṅga*, Commentary-Literature etc. Besides the famous works, the following are works on different fields, composed by and ascribed to Kālidāsa.

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1 Raghavan V., *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, University of Madras, Madras, 1968, Vol. IV. pp. 58-71

2 Krishnamachariar M., *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, Third ed. 1974, Index p. 946

3 *Ibid*, p.112 fn.2

एकोऽपि जीयते हन्त कालिदासो न केनचित्।

शृङ्गारे ललितोद्गारे कालिदासत्रयी किमु।।

4 *Ibid*, pp. 112-113

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1 Other *Kāvyas*-

Kuntaleśvaradautya, Setubandha, Ghaṭakarpara, Nalodaya, Rākṣasakāvya, Buddhivinodakāvya, Śṛṅgāratilaka 23 verses *(payodharākāradharo hi kandukaḥ kareṇa rosādabhihanyate muhuḥ), Puṣpabāṇavilāsa, Karṇāṭavarṇana, Mahāpadyāṣṭaka, Kavikaṇṭhapāśa, Caṭakāśataka, Madhurakāvya, Rathāṅgadūta, Durghaṭakāvya, Duṣkaramālā, Bhramarāṣṭaka, Śrutabodha, Lambodaraprahasana, Vidvadvinodakāvya, Vṛndāvanakāvya, Śāntisāranāṭaka, Śṛṅgārarasāṣṭaka, Śṛṅgārasāra, Saptaślokīrāmāyaṇa, Hanumatpraśasti, Hiraṇyanābhacampū, Kavita, Kandarpadarpaṇabhāṇa, Krīḍāvali, Vikramarāghavakāvya.*

2 *Stotras*-

Akṣaramālikā, Mātṛkāmālāstotra, Ambāstava, Karpūrastotra, Kalyāṇastava, Kālīstotra, Jvālāmukhīstotra, Navaratnamālā, Devīpañcastavī (Ambā, Ghaṭa, Carcā, Laghu, Sakalajananīstavas), Devyaṣṭaka, Devīratnamālā, Mīnanayanāṣṭaka, Gaṅgāṣṭaka, Gaṅgāṣṭaka, Lakṣmīstotra, Śāradāstotra, Sarasvatīsādhanā, Sarasvatīstotra, Sarasvatīstotra, Kramastotrapañcikā, Maṅgalāṣṭakam, Śyāmalādaṇḍakam, Caṇḍikādaṇḍastotra, Ambāstava, Kotistotra, Laghustava, Vidvadvinodakāvya, Vṛndāvanakāvya, Tripurāsundarīstutikāvya, Śivārcanakusumāñjali, Praśnottaramālā.

3 Technical works-

A Poetics/Metrics-

Kavirahasya, Kāvyaprakāśārthanirṇaya, Chandovarṇana, Śrutabodha, Rākṣasakāvya, Nañjarājayaśobhūṣaṇa, Sakalarasasārasaṅgraha, Kāvyanāṭakālaṅkāra.

B *Jyotiṣa*-

Jyotirvidābharaṇam, Uttarakālāmṛta, Kaṭapayā, Svaraśāstrasāra, Rahasyabodha, Com. on *Nāradasiddhānta, Kālidāsa-keralī, Śatruparājaya, Kālidāsa-gadya.*

C *Tantra* -

Cidgaganacandrikā

D *Āyurveda* -

Vaidyamanoramā, Dhārākalpa, Rasasārasamuccaya.

E Philosophy-

Sāṅkhyakārikā, Com. *Bhāvabodhinī* on *Ajñanabodhinī* of Śaṅkarācārya.

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F Grammar-

Śabdārtharatna, Dhātuprabodha.

G Lexicography-

Prayuktapadamañjarī, Ekākṣaranāmamālā, Nānārthaśabdaratna, Ratnakoṣa, Śabdarūpāvalī, Kālidāsa-nighaṇṭu.

H Commentaries-

Comm. on *Rāmāyaṇa-Ayodhyā* and *Araṇyakāṇḍas*, Comm. on *Vākyavṛtti*

I *Dharmaśāstra-*

Kuṇḍaprabandha

J *Caturaṅgapaṭṭa-* a work on chess.

Krisnmachariar[5] refers to one incident in which Durjaya, an arrogant court-poet of Rājaśekhara, does not allow any ordinary poets like Kālidāsa and his friend-poets enter the court of Rājaśekhara. But Kālidāsa and his friends make a good trick of insulting the king by composing the following verses and get entry to the king.

Śuklavat bakavat caiva kuṣṭhavat kukkuṭāṇḍavat/
Rājaśekhara te kīrtiḥ punaḥ kākāpurīṣavat//
Markaṭānanavat caiva raktatittiricūrṇavat/
Pratāpatapano bhāti rājaśekhara bhūpate//

The following four rare works of Kālidāsa are specially noted here. They are 1. *Cidgaganacandrikā*, 2. *Nañjarājayaśobhūṣaṇa*, 3-4. Two *Sarasvatī -stotras.*

1. *Cidgaganacandrikā* is edited by Swami Trivikrama Tīrtha, with English Introduction by Arnold Avalon and is published by Āgamānusandhāna Samiti, Calcutta in 1937. It is a work of 11th Century, on the *Śaiva-tantra* - a masterly treatise, but written in somewhat abstruse style. It contains 305 *Ślokas* in four *Vimarśas*. The work is attributed to Kālidāsa.

5 *Ibid*, pp. 509-510

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a. The author himself writes in the book-

इह कालिदासचन्द्रप्रसूतिरानन्दिनी स्तुतिव्याजात्-३

सिद्धनाथकृततत्क्रमस्तुतेः कालिदासरचितां च पञ्चिकाम्-३०५

कालिदासपदवीं तवाश्रितस्त्वत्प्रसादकृतवाग्विजृम्भणः-३०६

b. Gorakṣanātha (Maheśvaranātha) quotes several passages from this work in his *Parimala* Commentary on his own work *Mahārthamañjarī.*

c. Bhāskararāya alias Bhāsurānandanātha quotes passages from this work in his Commentary- *Saubhāgyabhāskara* on the *Lalitāsahasranāmastotram*- with the name of Kālidāsa.

d. Amṛtānandanātha refers to this work in his *Dīpikā* commentary on the *Yoginīhṛdaya.*

e. Kaivalyāśrama, a pupil of Govindāśrama, refers to this work of Kālidāsa in his *Saubhāgyabodhinī ṭīkā* on *Ānandalaharī.* This shows the importance of this small book on Kashmir Śaivism and *Trika* Philosophy.

2. The Book *Nañjarājayaśobhūṣaṇa* is a treatise on Sanskrit poetics, written by Nṛsiṁha kavi alias Abhinava Kālidāsa, in the glorification of the King Nañjarāja(1739A.D.), son of Vīrabhūpa of Mysore. It is published as Gaekawad's Oriental Series no. 47 and is edited by E. Krishnamacharya in 1930. There are seven chapters, called *Vilāsa*s, in the book and all the topics of poetics - *Nāyakalakṣaṇa, Nāyikālakṣaṇa, Vṛtti, Dhvani, Rasa, Doṣa, Guṇa, Alaṁkāra* etc., with illustrations, Sanskrit *ślokas*, composed by the author himself and each of them incorporates reference to and eulogy of the king Nañjarāja.

3. There are two *Stotra*s in praise of Sarasvatī, attributed to Kālidāsa. One entitled *Sarasvatīstavaḥ* is in Kashmirian tradition is a *stotra* of Sarasvatī , in eleven *ślokas*, composed by Kālidāsa. It was published at the end of an article, 'Kālidāsa in Kashmir Manuscript'[6]. It is reproduced here for ready reference.

4. One more *Stotra*, in praise of Sarasvatī, attributed to Kālidāsa is found in the Manuscript collection of the Oriental Institute, accession no. 7434, having one folio, written on country -made paper. The handwriting is not so good. The scribe has made many blunders while copying and many corrections were needed. For example- writing *kha* for *sa*, *kṣa* for *khya* etc. The text is still not understandable at some places in the verses. The date as given in the

6 *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, no. XI (1925), p. 132

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verse - *munivilocanamāna -mahīsame nabhasi māsa tithau pratipadravau* - clearly suggests the date of the poet Kālidāsa to be 1627. It is not clear whether it is in *Śaka* era or *Vikrama* era. It also refers to Śrāvaṇa *Māsa*, *Pratipat tithi* and *Ravivāsara* (Sunday). There is good description of beautiful physical appearance of the goddess Sarasvatī, mostly in the *Drutavilambita* metre. The text of the *Stotra* is given hereunder as could be edited on the basis of the only manuscript available. It could be presented in more perfect manner, if some other manuscripts of the text are available.

Conclusion-

The name of Kālidāsa is taken over by many poets and philosophers, whose works are seen in many fields, but have remained less noticed and some of them still unstudied. The Seminar intended to focus on such Kālidāsas and their works.

कालिदासकृतं सरस्वतीस्तोत्रम्[7]

विपुलसौख्यमनन्तधनागमं
रिपुकुलेक्षयमिष्टसमागमम् ।
निगमशास्त्रविवेकमहोदयं
भवति पञ्चविनायकदर्शनम् ।।१ ।।

विशदशारदचन्द्रनिभानना
मृगपयोभविखञ्जनलोचना ।
तरुणभूरुहपल्लवताधरा
हरतु नो दुरितं भुवि भारति ।।२ ।।

श्रवणमण्डितसन्मणिकुण्डला
भ्रमरमर्दितकज्जलकुन्तला ।
कनकरत्नमनोहरमेखला
हरतु नो दुरितं भुवि भारति ।।३ ।।

7 Oriental Institute, Accession no. 7434

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विधुमरालपयोब्धिवदुज्ज्वला
तनुलताकुसुमाम्बुजपेशला।
दशनदाडिमबीजविराजिता
हरतु नो दुरितं भुवि भारति।।४।।

स्तनविडम्बितहैमनदुर्नति-
स्तदुरुरोचितकुञ्जरकुम्भता।
चरणकान्तिजितारुणपङ्कजा
हरतु नो दुरितं भुवि भारति।। ५।।

विमलविद्रुमपाणिरुहासना
सलिलसंभवचारुलसद्भुजा।
कमलकुड्मलकमज्याचितसत्कचा
हरतु नो दुरितं भुवि भारति।। ६।।

प्रकटपाणिकरे जपमालिका
कमलपुस्तकवेणुवराधरा।
धवलहंससमाश्रितवाहना
हरतु नो दुरितं भुवि भारति।। ७।।

दुरितसैन्यपतिर्वसुभूधरा
सकलधर्मसुधारससागरा।
दनुजमानुषजल्पमहीरवि-
र्हरतु नो दुरितं भुवि भारति।। ८।।

कमलकन्धसिताचरणाम्बरा
मुकुटकङ्कणहारसुदाङ्गजा।
सुकविमानिसमानि समारुता
हरतु नो दुरितं भुवि भारति।। ९।।

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कमलकैटमनाम्बुपतलोदरी
सकलमङ्गलभूरुहमञ्जरी।
बहुधनार्पिततामृतवल्लरी
हरतु नो दुरितं भुवि भारति।। १०।।

स्मरनरानररानररागदा
विबुधिमाबुधिमाबुधिमानदा ।
सुकविताकविताकवितारदा
हरतु गौरिव गौरिव गौरसा।। ११।।

स्तुतिमिमां पठति प्रतिवासरं
जगति ये ग्रहणी सुखसंपदा।
भवति तस्य सदा वरदायका
उभयलोकसुखं लभते नरः ।। १२।।

मुनिविलोचनमानमहीसमे
नभसि मासतिथौ प्रतिपद्रवौ ।
द्विजवरोनचरणं स्तवनं गिरा
सुमतिनो द्विजलम्बसुतो हरिः ।।१३।।

भगवती तव नाम सुकोमलं
मरणदुःखदरिद्रविनाशनम् ।
मम कृपा क्रियते विविधा धरन्
प्रतिदिनं हृदयं कमलापतिम्।।१४।।

कमलभूतनयामुखपङ्कजे
वस नुते कमलाकरपल्लवे ।
वसुकृते रमते कमलाङ्कजे
प्रतिदिनं हृदये कमलापतिः ।।१५।।

इति कालिदासविरचितं सरस्वतीस्तोत्रम् ।।

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महाकविकालिदासकृतः सरस्वतीस्तवः[8]

ॐ सितवर्णालंकारे सरस्वति समस्तवाङ्मयाधारे।
कमलजमानसवरले मृगाङ्कधवले नमस्तुभ्यम्।।१।।

धन्यः स एव लोके स एव पूज्यः स एव सर्वगुरुः।
यस्य मुखकमलकोशे वाङ्मयकुलदेवते वससि।। २।।

कस्त्वां विना विवेकी विवेकविकलस्य निष्फलं जन्म।
तस्माद्भारति भविनां त्वमेव हेतुस्त्रिलोकेऽपि ।। ३।।

लक्ष्मीवानपि पुरुषः शूरः सुभगोऽपि कामसमरूपः।
वृष इव विबुधसभायां प्रतिभात्यमले त्वया रहितः ।। ४।।

मुनिमनुजमाननीयो मातर्मूर्खोऽपि मानवो दक्षः।
निःशेषशास्त्रवक्ता त्वन्मन्त्रध्यानतो भवति।। ५।।

कुवलयदृशः क्व तावद्धेश्मनि विलसन्ति कुचभारनम्राः।
यावदसिताब्जनयने न त्वं तुष्टा भवसि भविनाम्।। ६।।

जित्वा नरोरिराजाकामगगुरुगजवाजिपुरुषबलसहितः।
यदुपैति तत्समग्रं त्वच्चरणनुतेः फलं तस्य ।। ७।।

आवर्जितापि कष्टैरिह जन्मन्येव मुञ्चति नरं श्रीः।
न त्वं सप्त भवेष्विति मत्वा को नौति नो भवतीम्।। ८ ।।

8 *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, op.cit.*

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शम्भुप्रणुतां वाणीं भक्त्या यः स्तौति सो चिरेणैव ।
अविहतबुद्धिप्रसरः कविराजो जायते मनुजः।। ९ ।।

यं पद्मजन्मां रथराजहंसैः वृतेन पाणौ जलजेन विष्णुः।
नेत्रत्रयेणानुकरोति रुद्रः सा नः प्रसन्नास्तु वचोऽधिदेवी ।। १० ।।

विद्वन्मुखे या परिवर्तमाना शिष्याय नित्यं हितमाचरन्ती।
अभ्यासलभ्या मम सुप्रसन्ना सरस्वती सा हृदि सन्निधत्ते ।। ११ ।।

इति महाकविकालिदासकृतः सरस्वतीस्तवः समाप्तः।।

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ON RECONSTRUCTION OF THE *DHĀTUPĀṬHA* OF BHOJA'S *SARASVATĪKAṆṬHĀBHARAṆA**

NARAYAN PRASAD**

The *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* of Bhojadeva (11th century A.D.) is the biggest Sanskrit grammar of the *sūtra* style containing (as per the Madras edition) 6432 *sūtras* in all. It is the only extant complete revised edition of Pāṇini in which the rules of accent and the Vedic morphology are also taken into account. It embodies all the suggestions and corrections of Vyāḍi, Kātyāyana, Patañjali, Jayāditya, Vāmana and the post-Pāṇinian grammarians Śarvavarman, the author of *Kātantra* grammar, Candragomin and (Jain) Śākaṭāyana. The *vārttikas, iṣṭis, uṇādi-sūtras, gaṇa-pāṭha, gaṇa-sūtras, paribhāṣās* and *phiṭ-sūtras* have been incorporated by Bhoja in the *sūtrapātha* itself. Thus, the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* can safely be placed next to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. But unfortunately the *dhātupāṭha* of this monumental work has not come down to us. The internal and external evidences indicate that Bhojadeva must have written his own *dhātupāṭha* for *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa.*

Comparison of the *sūtrapāṭha* of *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* (SKĀ) with Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and *Cāndravyākaraṇa* and the study of the Pāninian *dhātupāṭha* and Cāndra *dhātupāṭha* indicate that Bhoja appears to have followed the Cāndra *dhātupāṭha,* rather than the Pāṇinian *dhātupāṭha.* In this paper, the *sūtra* numbers of SKĀ are referred as per the Trivandrum edition up to chapter six and for the remaining two chapters as per the Madras edition. Like Pāṇini, Bhoja uses the terms *parasmaipada* (1.1.23 etc.), *ātmanepada* (1.1.24 etc.), *ātmanepadin* (1.4.220), *ātmanebhāṣa* (3.1.44), but the term *vibhāṣita* (3.1.121) like Candra (1.4.125) for *ubhayapadin.* For Pāṇini *sūtra "anudātta-ṅita ātmanepadam"* (1.3.12), Bhoja has *"kartary-ātmanebhāṣebhyaḥ"* and *"ṅitaḥ"* (3.1.44-45) against Cāndra *sūtras "taṅānā yathāpāṭham"* and *"ṅitaḥ"* (1.4.46-47); for *"anudāttetaśca halādeḥ"* (P.3.2.149), he gives *"aṅito halāder-ātmanepadinaḥ"* (1.4.220) against Cāndra *"taṅvato halāder-aṅaḥ"* (1.2.98); for the term *anudāttet* together with *ṅit* used in the accent rule of P.6.1.186, he uses *ātmanepadin* (8.3.60); for *svaritet* (P.1.3.72), he gives *vibhāṣita* (3.1.121) which is same as

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Cāndra (1.4.125). Thus like Candra, Bhoja gives up the use of the Pāṇinian terms *udāttet, anudāttet* and *svaritet.*

A verbal root ending in a consonant is read without a *halanta* mark in all the existing *dhātupāṭhas.* The final *a* coming after a root originally ending in a consonant is not strictly an *anubandha* but is read simply for the facility of pronunciation. In the Pāṇinian *dhātupāṭha,* however, it serves two additional purposes. Firstly, it carries an accent (which serves as an *anubandha*) and secondly it preserves the final consonant of the root as otherwise it would have got the designation *it* and would have got elided as per P.1.3.3, 1.3.9 *(halantyam; tasya lopaḥ)* [Palsule 1961 : 64]. Although Bhoja does not use the accent in the *anubandhas,* he has the *sūtras* parallel to P.1.3.3, 1.3.9. So in the Bhojīya *dhātupāṭha,* it serves the second purpose. Out of the 13 vowels, *a* being already used, and *ai* and *au* not being utlized by Pāṇini, at all [Palsule 1961:83], comparison of the other vowel *anubandhas* used by Pāṇini, Candra and Bhoja is shown in TABLE 1. Regarding the *halādi anubandhas* [Palsule 1961:85] a similar comparison is shown in TABLE 2. It is evident from these two tables that Candra omits the *anubandha ñi,* whereas Bhoja retains all the *anubandhas* of Pāṇini.

Similar to Pāṇini, Candra and Bhoja also read some *ṣopadeśa* and *ṇopadeśa dhātus* [TABLE 3] and classify the *dhātus* in the ten main *gaṇas* [TABLE 4]. Although the modified Pāṇinīya *dhātupāṭha* as preserved in the *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita does list the *dhātus* under *kaṇḍvādi-gaṇa,* the oldest commentary *Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī* of Kṣīrasvāmin does not include the *kaṇḍvādi-gaṇa.* The Cāndra *dhātupāṭha* also does not have *kaṇḍvādi-gaṇa.* Bhoja reads all the *kaṇḍvādi dhātus* in the *sūtrapāṭha* itself.

कण्डूञ्-असु-वल्गु-मन्तु-महीङ्-हृणीङ्-वेङ्-लाङ्-वेङ्-लाङ्-लेङ्-लोङ्-उरुष्-इरस्-तिरस्-दुवस्-इयस्-उषस्-इरज्-भिषज्-भिष्णुज्भ्यो यक् १।३।२८

एला-वेला-केला-खेला-मगध-इरध-इषुध-कुषुभ-सुख-दुख-गद्गद-अगद-तरण-चरण-चुरण-उरण-तुरण-भुरण-तन्तस-पम्पस-अरर-समर-सपरेभ्यश्च १।३।२९

So one can surmise that in all probability Bhoja also did not read *kaṇḍvādi dhātus* again in the *dhātupāṭha* just to supply the meanings of the *dhātus.*

Unlike Candra, Bhoja shifts all the *gaṇasūtras* of the Pāṇinian *dhātupāṭha,* such as, *ghaṭādayo mitaḥ, svādaya oditaḥ* etc. [TABLE 5] and those at the end of *curādigaṇa,* such as, "सुपो धात्वर्थे बहुलम् इष्ठवच्च", "णिङ् अङ्गनिरसने", "श्वेताश्व-अश्वतर-गालोडित-आह्वरकाणाम् अश्व-तर-इत-कलोपश्च" (*Cāndra dhātupāṭha* 10.103-105) to the *sūtrapāṭha* (1.3.37, 1.3.52 "अङ्गात् तन्निरस्यति

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ङित्", 1.3.41). Unlike Candra, Bhoja incorporates many other *gaṇasūtras*, such as, स्थूलादीनाचष्टे च (1.3.39), तेनातिक्रामति (1.3.50) etc., in the *sūtrapāṭha* itself.

One surprising point with Bhoja's grammar, which is supposed to incorporate all the positive teachings of the previous works, is the non-existence of the *sūtra* parallel to the Pāṇinian *gaṇa-sūtra "ādhṛṣād vā"*, which is shifted to *sūtrapāṭha* by Śākaṭāyana ["*yujāder vā*" (4.1.8)] and Hemacandra ["*yujāder na vā*" (3.4.18)]. Thus like Candra, Bhoja appears to have done away with the sub-sections *ākusmīya, āsvadīya, ādhṛṣīya (yujādi)* and the *kathādi* (with the sub-section *āgarvīya)* [see TABLE 5]. The big group of *bhāṣārtha* must naturally have been missing in the Bhojīya *dhātupāṭha*. So in brief, the Bhojīya, *dhātupāṭha* must be very much similar to *Cāndra dhātupāṭha* in the arrangement of *dhātus*, but with the *ñi anubandha* and without the *gaṇa-sūtras* in it.

Candra has, as far as practicable, kept all the *parasmaipada* roots together, then all the *ātmanepada* roots and then the *ubhayapada* roots together. Where a main *gaṇa* itself starts with an *ubhayapada* root (e.g. *svādiaṇa)*, first all the *ubhayapada* roots are kept together and then all the *parasmaipada* and then all the *ātmanepada* roots. When a specific type of operation is to take place with a set of certain mixed types of roots (e.g. in the *antargaṇas* in a particular *gaṇa*), the arrangements of roots have been slightly adapted and hence the *parasmaipada* or any other type of roots have to appear more than once. As far as practicable, the Pāṇinīya roots are kept in the increasing serial order.

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TABLE 1: *Ajādi Anubandhas* (*it*) in the *dhātupāṭha* of Pāṇini, Candra and Bhoja

इत्	पाणिनि	चन्द्र	भोज
आदित्	आदितश्च ७।२।१६	आदितः ५।४।१४१	आदितः ६।४।५६
इदित्	इदितो नुम् धातोः ७।१।५८	इदितो नुम् ५।४।१०	इदितो नुम् ६।४।१०
ईदित्	श्वीदितो निष्ठायाम् ७।२।१४	श्वीदितस्ततवतो ५।४।१३९	श्वि-डीङ्-ईदिद्भ्यो निष्ठायाः ६।४।१५४
उदित्	उदितो वा ७।२।५६	उदितो वा ५।४।११७	उदितो वा ६।४।१२३
ऊदित्	स्वरति-सूति-सूयति-धूञ् ऊदितो वा ७।२।४४	स्वृ-सूङ्-ऊदितः ५।४।१०७	स्वरति-सूति-सूयति धूञ्-ऊदिद्भ्यः ६।४।११३
ऋदित्	नाग्लोपि-शास्वृदिताम् ७।४।२	नाग्लोपि-शास्वृदिताम् ६।१।६२	नाग्लोपि-शास्वृदिताम् ७।१।७५
ॠदित्	ॠत इद्धातोः ७।१।१०० ॠदोरप् ३।३।५७	ॠत इद्धातोः ५।४।७ ॠदोरप् १।३।४७	ॠत इद्धातोः ६।४।७ ॠदोरप् २।४।७९
ऌदित्	पुषादि-द्युताद्यॄ-ऌदितः परस्मैपदेषु ३।१।५५	ऌदिद्-द्युतादि-पुष्यत्यादिभ्योऽतङि १।१।७३	ऌदिद्-द्युतादि-पुष्यत्यादिभ्यः परस्मैपदे १।३।९०
एदित्	हम्यन्त-क्षण-श्वस-जागृ-णि-श्न्येदिताम् ७।२।५	हलादेरुपान्तस्याश्वस-क्षण-हम्येदितोऽतः ६।१।७	हलादेरहम्यन्त-क्षण-श्वसेदितोऽत उपधाया ७।१।७
ओदित्	ओदितश्च ८।२।४५	ओदितः ६।३।८०	ओदितः ७।३।९०
इरित्	इरितो वा ३।१।५७	इरितो वा १।१।७४	इरिज्-जॄ-श्वि-स्तन्भु-म्रुचु-म्लुचु-ग्रुचु-ग्लुचु-ग्लुञ्चेभ्यो वा १।३।९१

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TABLE 2: *Halādi Anubandhas* (*it*) in the *dhātupāṭha* of Pāṇini, Candra and Bhoja.

इत्	पाणिनि	चन्द्र	भोज
कित्	अधीगर्थ-दयेशां कर्मणि २/३/५२	इक् स्मरणे २/११ (धातुपाठ)	इणिकोर्गा ६/४/९८
टित्	विभाषा धेट्-श्व्योः ३/१/४१	धेट् पाने १/२५९ (धातुपाठ)	धेट्-श्विभ्यां वा ३/१/८५
णित्	इणो यण् ६/४/८१ दाणश्च सा चेच्चतुर्थ्यर्थे १/३/५५	इणो यण् ५/३/८७ दाणः सा चेच्चतुर्थ्यर्थे १/४/१०८	इणो यण् ६/३/८६ दाणश्च सा चेच्चतुर्थ्यर्थे ३/१/१०३
पित्	दा-धा घ्वदाप् १/१/२०	दोऽपः १/१/४	दोऽपः १/२/५
षित्	षिद्-भिदादिभ्योऽङ् ३/३/१०४	भिदादि-षितोऽङ् १/३/८६	षितोऽङ् २/४/१३८
ऋित्	आदिर्ञिटुडवः १/३/५	-----	आदिर्ञिटुडवः १/२/१२
ट्वित्	ट्वितोऽथुच् ३/३/८९	ट्वितोऽथुच् १/३/६९	ट्वितोऽथुच् २/४/१११
ड्वित्	ड्वितः क्त्रिः ३।३।८८	ड्वितः क्त्रिः १।३।६८	ड्वितः क्त्रिः २।४।११०

TABLE 3 : *ṣopadeśa* and *ṇopadeśa* in the *dhātupāṭha* of Pāṇini, Candra and Bhoja.

पाणिनि	चन्द्र	भोज
धात्वादेः षः सः ६।१।६४	अष्ठिवु-ष्वक्कादेः षः सः ५।१।६१	अष्ठिवु-ष्वष्केरादेः षः सः ६।१।७१
णो नः ६।१।६५	णो नः ५।१।६२	णो नः ६।१।७२

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TABLE 4: *Dhātu Gaṇas* in the *dhātupāṭha* of Pāṇini, Candra and Bhoja.

गण	पाणिनि	चन्द्र	भोज
भ्वादि	भूवादयो धातवः १।३।१	-----	भूवादिः क्रियावचनो धातुः १।१।२
	कर्तरि शप् ३।१।६८	कर्तरि शप् १।१।८२	कर्तरि शप् १।३।१०७
अदादि	अदिप्रभृतिभ्यः शपः २।४।७२	अदादिभ्यो लुक् १।१।८३	अदादिभ्यो लुक् १।३।१०८
जुहोत्यादि	जुहोत्यादिभ्यः श्लुः २।४।७५	हूनां द्वे च १।१।८४	जुहोत्यादिभ्यः श्लुः १।३।१०९
दिवादि	दिवादिभ्यः श्यन् ३।१।३९	दिवादिभ्यः श्यन् १।१।८७	दिवादिभ्यः श्यन् १।३।११०
स्वादि	स्वादिभ्यः श्नुः ३।१।७३	स्वादिभ्यः श्नुः १।१।९५	स्वादिभ्यः श्नुः १।३।११९
तुदादि	तुदादिभ्यः शः ३।१।७७	तुदादिभ्यः शः १।१।९२	तुदादिभ्यः शः १।३।११६
रुधादि	रुधादिभ्यः श्नम् ३।१।७८	रुधादीनां श्नम् १।१।९३	रुधादीनां श्नम् १।३।११७
तनादि	तनादि-कृञ्भ्य उः ३।१।७९	तनादिभ्य उः १।१।९४	तनादिभ्य उः १।३।११८
क्र्यादि	क्र्यादिभ्यः श्ना ३।१।८१	क्र्यादिभ्यः १।१।१००	श्ना क्र्यादिभ्यश्च १।३।१२४
चुरादि	सत्याप-पाश-रूप-वीणा-तूल-श्लोक-सेना-लोम-त्वच-वर्म-वर्ण-चूर्ण-चुरादिभ्यो णिच् ३।१।२५	चुरादिभ्यो णिच् १।१।४५	चुरादिभ्यो णिच् १।३।३६
कण्ड्वादि	कण्ड्वादिभ्यो यक् ३।१।२७	कण्ड्वादिभ्यो यक् १।१।३९	कण्डूञ्-असु-..... - भिष्णुज्भ्यो यक् १।३।२८

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TABLE 5: *Antargaṇas* in the *dhātupāṭha* of Pāṇini, Candra and Bhoja.

गण	अन्तर्गण	पाणिनि	चन्द्र	भोज
भ्वादि	द्युतादि	द्युद्भ्यो लुङि १।३।९१	द्युद्भ्यो लुङि १।४।१४३	द्युद्भ्यो लुङि ३।१।१४२
	वृतादि	वृद्भ्यः स्यसनोः १।३।९२	वृद्भ्यः स्यसनोः १।४।१४४	वृद्भ्यः स्यसनोः ३।१।१४३
	घटादि	घटादयो मितः (गणसूत्र)	घटादयो मितः (गणसूत्र)	घटादय आत्मनेपदिनः षितः १।१।१८९ सर्वे मितः १।१।१९०
	फणादि	फणां च सप्तानाम् ६।४।१२५	फणादीनां सप्तानाम् ५।३।१२१	फण-स्यम-स्वन-राज- भ्राज-भ्राश-भ्लाशाम् ६।३।१२०
	ज्वलादि	ज्वलितिकसन्तेभ्यो णः ३।१।१४०	ज्वलादिभ्यो णो वा १।१।१४६	ज्वलादि-दु-नी-भूभ्यो णः १।३।२१७
	यजादि	वचि-स्वपि-यजादीनां किति ६।१।१५	वचि-स्वपि-यजादीनां लिट्यपिति ५।१।१४	वचि-स्वपि-यजादीनां लिट्यपिति ६।१।२०
अदादि	रुदादि	रुदश्च पञ्चभ्यः ७।३।९८	रुद्भ्यस्तिङः ५।४।१७३	रुदि-स्वपि-श्वस्यनि- जक्षिभ्यस्तिङः ६।४।१८९
	जक्षादि	जक्षित्यादयः षट् ६।१।६	जक्षादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः १।४।५	जक्षादयश्चाशासः १।१।७९
				अभ्यस्त-दीधी- वेवीङामादिः ८।३।६६
दिवादि	स्वादि	ओदितश्च ८।२।४५	ओदितश्च ६।३।८०	ओदितश्च ७।३।९०
		स्वादय ओदितः (गणसूत्र)	स्वादय ओदितः (गणसूत्र)	सूयत्यादिभ्यो नवभ्यः ७।३।९१
	पुषादि	पुषादि-द्युताद्स्लृदितः परस्मैपदेषु ३।१।५५	लृदित्-द्युतादि- पुष्यत्यादिभ्योऽतङि १।१।७३	लृदित्-द्युतादि- पुष्यत्यादिभ्यः परस्मैपदे १।३।९०

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गण	अन्तर्गण	पाणिनि	चन्द्र	भोज
दिवादि	रधादि	रधादिभ्यश्च ७।२।४५	रधादिभ्यः ५।४।१०८	रध-नश-तृप-दृप-द्रुह-मुह-स्नुह-स्निहिभ्यः ६।४।११४
	शमादि	शमामष्टानां दीर्घः श्यनि ७।३।७४	शमामष्टानां श्ये दीर्घः ६।१।१०२	शमामष्टानां श्ये दीर्घः ७।१।१३०
तुदादि	कुटादि	गाङ्-कुटादिभ्यो-ऽञ्णिन् ङित् १।२।१	कुटादीनामञ्णिति ६।२।१३	कुटादीनामञ्णिति ७।२।११
	किरादि	किरश्च पञ्चभ्यः ७।२।७५	कृभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः ५।४।१७२	ऋ-स्मि-पूङञ्श्वशू-कॄ-गृ-दृ-धृ-प्रच्छिभ्यः सनः ६।४।१८८
	मुचादि	शे मुचादीनाम् ७।१।५१	शे मुचादीनाम् ५।४।११	मुच-लुप-लिप-विद-सिच-कृत-खिद-पिप-तृप-दृफ-गुफोभ-शुभां शे ६।४।११
क्र्यादि	प्वादि	प्वादीनां ह्रस्वः ७।३।८०	प्वादीनां ह्रस्वः ६।१।१०८	प्वादीनां ह्रस्वः ७।१।१३७
	ल्वादि	ल्वादिभ्यः ८।२।४४	ॠ-ल्वादिभ्यः क्तिनश्च ६।३।७६	ॠ-ल्वादिभ्यः क्तिनश्च ७।३।८६
चुरादि	आकुस्मीयाः आस्वदीयाः आधृषीयाः आगर्वीयाः	Available Available Available Available	Wanting Wanting Wanting Wanting	Wanting Wanting Wanting Wanting

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3. *"The Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa of Śrī Bhojadeva with the commentary of Śrī Nārāyaṇadaṇḍanātha"*, edited by K. Sāmbhaśiva Śāstrī, Vol. I (ch. I, 1935, total 216 pp.), Vol. II (ch. II, 1937, total 192 pp.), Vol. III (ch. III-IV, 1938, total 344 pp.) and V.A. Rāmasvāmi Śāstrī, Vol. IV (ch. V-VI, 1948, total 568 pp.); published under Trivandrum Sanskrit Series Nos. 117, 127, 140 and 154.

4. *"Cāndravyākaraṇa of Candragomin"*, Part I (ch. I-III, 1953; vi+352 pp.); Part II (ch. IV-VI, 1961; v+448 pp.), edited by K.C. Chatterji, Deccan College of Postgraduate & Research Institute, Poona; published under *Sources of Indo-Aryan Lexicography*, No. 13 [contains *sūtrapāṭha* with *Cāndravṛtti, varṇasūtras* (*śikṣā*), *paribhāṣāsūtras* and *sūtrānukramaṇī*].

5. आचार्यचन्द्रगोमिप्रणीतं **चान्द्रव्याकरणम्** (शोधपूर्णभूमिकासहितम्), प्रधान सम्पादक : फतहसिंह; सम्पादक : पं. श्रीवेचरदास जीवराज दोशी; प्रकाशक : राजस्थान प्राच्यविद्या प्रतिष्ठान, जोधपुर; 1967, pp. 5 + 19 + 6 + 230 + 6; राजस्थान पुरातन ग्रन्थमाला, ग्रन्थाङ्क 39 [contains *sūtrapāṭha, varṇasūtras* (*śikṣā*), *uṇādipāṭha, dhātupāṭha* and many appendices].

6. **क्षीर-तरङ्गिणी,** क्षीरस्वामि-विरचिता [पाणिनीयधातुपाठस्य पश्चिमोत्तरपाठस्य व्याख्या], सम्पादक : युधिष्ठिर मीमांसकः, प्रकाशकः रामलाल कपूर ट्रस्ट बहालगढ, सोनीपत-हरयाणा, वि.सं. 2042, pp. 52 + 376 + 10.

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8. **श्रीसिद्ध-हेमचन्द्र-शब्दानुशासनम्** [स्वोपज्ञ-बृहद्वृत्ति तथा न्याससारसमुद्धार (लघुन्यास)-संवलितम्], संपादकः मुनि श्री वज्रसेनविजयजी, प्रकाशक : भेरुलाल कनैयालाल रिलिजिस ट्रस्ट, चन्दनबाला, बम्बई-6. Part I (1985: 32 + 616 pp.); Part II (1985: 8 + 502 pp); Part-III (Nov. 1986: 16 + 407 + 136 pp).

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લેખકોને :

૧. પાનની એક જ બાજુએ, ટાઈપ અથવા કૉમ્પ્યુટરમાં તૈયાર કરેલા અને એ શક્ય ન હોય તો શાહીથી સુવાચ્ય અક્ષરે લખેલા લેખો મોકલવા. ટાઈપ/કૉમ્પ્યુટર નકલમાં ભૂલોને સુધાર્યા પછી જ લેખ મોકલવો. ગૂજરાત વિદ્યાપીઠના જોડાણીકોશ પ્રમાણે જોડાણી રાખવી આવશ્યક છે. લેખની મૂળ પ્રત જ મોકલવી. લેખની કાર્બન નકલ મોકલો ત્યારે તે અંગેનું સ્પષ્ટ કારણ જણાવવું.

૨. લેખમાં અવતરણો, અન્ય વિદ્વાનોનાં મંતવ્યો ટાંકવામાં આવે તો તે અંગેનો સંદર્ભ પૂરેપૂરી વિગત સાથે આપવો અનિવાર્ય છે. પાદટીપમાં એ સંદર્ભની વિગત આપતાં લેખક અથવા સંપાદક/સંશોધક (અટક પહેલી), ગ્રંથ, પ્રકાશક, પ્રકાશનવર્ષ, આવૃત્તિ, પૃષ્ઠ એ ક્રમ જાળવવો જરૂરી છે.

૩. 'સ્વાધ્યાય'માં છપાયેલ સર્વ લેખોનો કૉપીરાઈટ મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ યુનિવર્સિટી, વડોદરા હસ્તક છે. લેખકે અથવા અન્ય કોઈએ લેખમાંનો કોઈ અંશ લેખિત પરવાનગી વગર પુનર્મુદ્રિત કરવો નહીં.

૪. સંક્ષેપશબ્દો પ્રયોજતા પહેલાં એ શબ્દો અન્ય સ્થાને પૂરેપૂરા પ્રયોજેલા હોવા જોઈએ.

૫. પાદટીપોનો ક્રમ સળંગ રાખી જે તે પૃષ્ઠ ઉપર તે તે પાદટીપોનો નિર્દેશ જરૂરી છે.

સ્વાધ્યાય

સ્વાધ્યાય અને સંશોધનનું ત્રૈમાસિક

સંપાદક : **મુકુંદ લાલજી વાડેકર**

વર્ષમાં ચાર અંક બહાર પડે છે - વસંતપંચમી અંક, અક્ષયતૃતીયા અંક, જન્માષ્ટમી અંક, અને દીપોત્સવી અંક

લવાજમ :

- ભારતમાં ..... રૂા. ૪૦.૦૦ (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)
- પરદેશમાં ..... યુનાઈટેડ સ્ટેટ્સ ઑફ અમેરિકા માટે ..... ૧૨.૦૦ ડૉલર (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)
- યુરોપ અને અન્ય દેશો માટે ..... પૌ. ૭.૦૦ (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)

આખા વર્ષના ગ્રાહકો લવાજમના વર્ષની શરૂઆતથી જ નાંધવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ અગાઉથી સ્વીકારવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ મોકલતી વખતે કયા ગ્રંથ માટે લવાજમ મોકલ્યું છે તે સ્પષ્ટ જણાવવું. લવાજમ વર્ષ જાન્યુઆરીથી ડિસેમ્બર સુધીનું ગણાય છે, જે આ સરનામે મોકલવું.

નિયામકશ્રી, પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યામંદિર,
મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય,
રાજમહેલ દરવાજા પાસે, રાજમહેલ રોડ,
વડોદરા - ૩૯૦ ૦૦૧.

જાહેરાતો :

આ ત્રૈમાસિકમાં જાહેરાત આપવા માટે લખો

સંપાદક, 'સ્વાધ્યાય',
પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યામંદિર, મ.સ. વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય,
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PRABHĀVATĪ-PRADYUMNA-NĀṬAKAM : AN UNPUBLISHED SANSKRIT PLAY+

SWETA PRAJAPATI*

Introduction

While preparing a paper[1] on the play *Prabhāvatī-pariṇaya* of Harihara Upadhyaya[2], I developed interest to investigate the unpublished Sanskrit plays composed on the same theme with a view to editing them if they deserve edition and publication. Fortunately, in course of my investigation of the manuscript sources preserved at the Oriental Institute of Baroda, I found out a play entitled *Prabhāvatī-pradyumna-nāṭakam,* one manuscript of which is available in our Institute in good condition. It is a mythological play of appreciable merit. Its author is Rāmakṛṣṇasūri, a little-known literary figure. After checking the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* and other relevant sources, I was confirmed that the play has not attracted the attention of any scholar and has still remained unpublished though two Manuscripts of this play are available. One is deposited in the Oriental Institute, Baroda and the other is in the Ranvir Sanskrit Sasthan, Raghunath Temple Library, Jammu. The details of these Manuscripts are as follow:

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+ The paper was presented at the National Seminar on "The Manuscript Traditions of *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Drama and Stage Performance" held on 18-20 November, 2006, Harisinh Gaur University, Sagar.

* Oriental Institute, The M.S. University of Baroda, Vadodara.

1. Prajapati, Sweta, *"Prabhāvatīpariṇaya: Eka Āsvādya Nāṭyakṛti"*, *Śabdākhyajyoti*, Prof. Vijay Pandya Felicitation Volume, Ahmedabad, 2005 pp. 129-136.
2. *Prabhāvatīpariṇaya of Harihara*, Ed. Ramachandra Mishra, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1959.

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Ms. Name	Ms.B (Baroda)	Ms.J (Jammu)
Acc. No.	12975	645
Material	Paper	Paper
Folios	46	33
Granthas	730	1450
Size	25.5 x 9	27.5 x 10
Age	*Samvat* 1644 (1588 A.D.)	1650 A.D.

The colophon of the Ms. B reads: संवत् १६४४ समये फाल्गुणवदि ५ बुधे पुस्तक लिषी वाराणसीनगर श्री अकबरसाहिराज्ये महाराजाधिराज श्रीरामचन्द्रदेवात्मजयुवराजश्रीबाबूवीरभद्रदेवाज्ञया ।

It is interesting to note that the Manuscript of the Oriental Institute bears the stamp of *Mahārājādhirāja-śrīrāmacandradevātmaja*. The stamp contains both Persian and *Devanāgarī* scripts. The colophon records its copying at Varanasi in the territory of the king Akbar by the command of the Prince Vīrabhadra, the son of the king Rāmacandra.

The *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa*[3] confirms that Vīrabhadra (1592-1593 A.D.) was the son of Rāmacandra Deva (1555-1592A.D.), one of the most illustrious rulers of Vaghela dynasty. On the basis of this evidence, it becomes clear that the author Rāmakṛṣṇa must have flourished before 1592 A.D. Like his father, Vīrabhadra had also written two works, namely, *Kandarpacūḍāmaṇi (*1577 A.D.) and *Daśakumārapūrvakathā*.[4] He followed the path of his father in patronizing various arts and learning. The colophon clearly speaks that scholar- Prince Vīrabhadra's interest was for getting the Sanskrit works copied for his personal use. The royal seal found on the manuscript bears an evidence to this fact.

The colophon of the Ms. J reads:

अथ हालाद्गते काले खबाणरसभूमिते सिताश्विनद्वितीयायां कृष्णानन्दोऽलिखत्सुधीः ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥ श्रीः ॥

3. Chitrao, Siddhesvar Shastri, Pune, 1937, p.748.

4. Sharma, Vidyasudhakara, "Some Vaghela Rulers and the Sanskrit poets patronized by them", *Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, 1936, pp.49-51.

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Manuscript Observations

Both the Manuscripts have their own peculiarities. Between the two Manuscripts of this play, the Jammu Manuscript is more authentic than that of the Baroda one. In Baroda Manuscript many spelling-mistakes, corrections and additions in the margin are found. In some places, there are repetitions and omissions of lines. While comparing the variants, it is observed that the Jammu Manuscript contains better and authentic readings though in some places the Jammu Manuscript also contains some corrupt readings. In such a situation, both are complementary to each other. However, overall estimation is that the Jammu Manuscript is better than the Baroda one. The Baroda Manuscript is written in Jain *Devanāgarī* style. The scribe's name and the place of its copying are not recorded. However, the colophon gives us the information that it was copied at the order of Bhadradeva, the son of king Rāmacandra, who ruled during the reign of Mughal King Akbar. The Jammu Manuscript facilitates the readers as it gives numbers to the verses marked with red ink and names of every speakers of dialogues are also marked with red ink. The technical elements like the *prastāvanā, viṣkambhaka* and *praveśakas* are also marked separately with red ink. This effort of the intelligent and sincere scribe helps in reading the text. These features are not found in the Baroda Manuscript.

The Playwright

Unlike most of the Sanskrit writers, Rāmakṛṣṇa has given some pertinent information about his personal life and ancestors. The *Sūtradhāra* in the *Prastāvanā* speaks the names of his father and forefathers, namely, Paṇḍita Āhlāda-Maheśa-Nṛpanātha-Gopālācārya-Rāmakṛṣṇa. However, we do not get any information regarding the exact time and the place of his birth and also the other works. Author's father Gopālācārya was expert in various disciplines. From the study of the present drama, it becomes evident that Rāmakṛṣṇa Sūri was a profound scholar of Sāhityaśāstra, metrics and Purāṇas etc. He was a devotee of Lord Viṣṇu and Goddess Lakṣmī.

Details of the Play

The title of the play itself speaks about the mythological character of the present play. The *Prabhāvatī-Pradyumna* episode has attracted many writers. As a result, many *kāvyas* like *Prabhāvatī-pariṇaya* by Harihara, *Pradyumnacarita-Mahākāvya* by Mahāsenācārya, *Pradyumnābhyudaya*[5] by Ravivarma are found to be composed. The theme

5. *Pradyumnābhyudaya of Ravivarma Kulashekhara,* Ed. T.G. Shastri, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, Trivandrum, 1910.

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is basically derived from the *Harivaṁśa* (*Adhyāya* 91-97). However, it is also found in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and the *Nepāla-māhātmya*. Though written on very well-known theme, the playwright has displayed his creative talent in presenting the theme in an appealing manner.

The play consists of five acts, which is a minimum requirement of any traditional compositions. All the five acts are not given the titles. The play begins with two benedictory verses followed by a very long *prastāvanā*. The verses, which speak out his poetic brilliance, are written in praise of Goddess Lakṣmī in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* and *Śikhariṇī* metres having the *alaṁkāra Praśna*. Let us see one verse:

पादान्तप्रणतोऽपि कान्तवचनप्राचुर्यचातुर्यभाक्
दृष्ट्वा मानपरां श्रियं नतमुखीं बाष्पाक्तनेत्रां विभुः ।
किं ते पृष्ठतले सरोजवदने सर्पः समुत्सर्पती-
त्याख्यानेन चमत्कृतामवतु वः संदर्श्य वेणीं हसन् ॥१॥ (Act. I)

Though the nature-elements have less scope for description in the present play, some of the verses related to rain are worth noting.

गतास्ताराहारा इव विरहिणीवक्षस इमे
नभस्थश्चन्द्रोऽयं तिलक इव भालव्यपगतः ।
नभो जातं कृष्णं मन इव समन्तादिव दिशो
निरुद्धाः सङ्गाशा घननवघनैराधिभिरिव ॥१५॥ (Act. I)

The dramatist successfully describes Prabhāvatī's beauty, passion of hero and heroine in the second and third act. Here are some examples:

तस्या मुखं विजितफुल्लसरोजकांति
पश्येयमीषदपवर्त्तितलोचनां ताम् ।
यस्याः कथाश्रवण एव मनो मदीय-
मुद्भ्रान्तवद्भ्रमति चक्रमिवातिरूढम् ॥१९॥ (Act. II)

दलति हृदयं देहः कामं महानलचुम्बितो
ज्वलति विकलं चेतो मोहं प्रयाति च जीवितम् ।
व्रजति तदलंकारक्षेपैर्विधेहि मनोरथं
मम किल यतस्तातेन त्वं प्रकल्पितमीदृशम् ॥२४॥ (Act. II)

Some verses remind us the well-known verses of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti:

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इदं कञ्जं चेदं किसलयमिदं चन्दनमिदं
हिमं चेदं पाथः शिशिरकमलिन्या दलमिदम् ।
अयं चायं शीशो मम भवति सर्वं हि वडवा -
नलप्रायं प्रायः सुखयति विधिर्नार्थनिचयः ॥२१॥ (Act. II)

गतं शून्यं चेतो भ्रमति नयनं निश्चलतरं
वपुः कम्पोद्भिन्नं हसति परिषक्वं च पटलम् ।
मुखं प्रातश्चन्द्रद्युति वहति कारुण्यमनसां
प्रतापं देहोऽयं शिवशिवेन्दुप्रभ इह ॥२२॥ (Act. II)

The poet-dramatist has nicely depicted the love in separation.

ज्वरं ब्रूते कश्चित् पवनविकृतिं कोऽपि गदति
ब्रवीत्यन्यः पाण्डुं वदति पुनरामप्रचयजम् ।
गदं नो जानीते विरहदहनोत्थं बत भिषक्
कथं शान्तिर्भूयात्कथय सुतनोस्त्वां किल विना ॥३१॥ (Act. II)

It is known that the playwright is a good poet well-versed in different *śāstras* possessing gifted talent. He has given vent to his poetic caliber by composing more than hundred verses both in Sanskrit and Prakrit with equal success. The short dialogues in Sanskrit and Prakrit make the drama interesting and easily understandable. However, there occur some unavoidable long passages contributing in reducing the charm of the drama.

The author has made use of different motifs like the *Bhramarabādhāprasaṅga,* as we find in the *Abhijñānaśākuntalam.* One of the interesting features of this play is that it contains a *garbhanāṭaka* by name *Rambhābhisaraṇa.* In the third act, *patralekhana,* the technique of message-sending occurs.

Summary of the Play

Act I

In the first act after the benedictory verse addressed to goddess Lakṣmī, there occurs a very long *prastāvanā,* in which through the dialogues between *sūtradhāra* and *naṭī,* we are informed about dramatist's personal account, his scholarship and staging of this drama at Varanasi before the intellectual audience. The act starts with the dialogues between Indra and Haṁsī, a divine lady. They discuss about the plan to kill the demon Vajranābha by way of establishing the relation of Pradyumna with Prabhāvatī, the daughter of Vajranābha.

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They want to take the help of Bhadra. Indra goes to meet Lord Kṛṣṇa to discuss about the success of the plan.

Act II

In the *Praveśaka,* by the dialogues of Pradyumna and his friends we are informed about the dream of Pradyumna, in which he saw the picture of one beautiful lady. Then enters Prabhāvatī's friends Madhuvāṇī and Sarvajñā thinking for the removal of her pitiable condition occurred due to pangs of love. The month of *Vasanta* is adding to her pain. Sarvajñā narrates the story of divine birth of Pradyumna and his qualities. Haṁsī has been sent to Dwarika to inform Pradyumna about Prabhāvatī's love and to bring Bhadranaṭa. Then in the *Viṣkambhaka,* from the dialogues between Taralikā and Prabhāvatī, we are informed that Haṁsī has been sent to Dwarika to bring Bhadranaṭa. Taralikā narrates Bhadra's talent. Then all of them went to Dhavalagṛha to wait for Haṁsī's arrival from Dwarika with some good news. Now, Haṁsī is in Dwarika, where she sees the same pitiable condition of Pradyumna. Haṁsī hands over the love-letter of Prabhāvatī to Pradyumna and explains about the condition of Prabhāvatī. She also explains her plan how Pradyumna will enter the Vajrapura with Bhadranaṭa, the friend of Pradyumna. She also informs him about the divine birth account of Prabhāvatī. Haṁsī departs to meet Prabhāvatī and Pradyumna also departs to take the permission of his father for further action.

Act III

In the *Viṣkambhaka,* we are taken to Vajrapura, where the demons are talking with Vajranābha about Bhadranaṭa's dramatic talent. Vajranābha then proceeds towards the theatre with his minister Śuddhasena to watch the drama *Rambhābhisaraṇa* to be performed by Bhadra and other actors. Then enter Sarvajñā, Madhuvāṇī and Taralikā. They all proceed towards *dhavalagṛha* to see Prabhāvatī, who was about to jump from the height to end her life but she was saved by Taralikā and Sarvajñā. Sarvajñā hands over the letter of Pradyumna to her. Taralikā also informed her about the drama performed by the group of actors invited by her father Vajranābha. Being highly pleased by their talent, the king Vajranābha honoured them with lots of wealth and now they enjoy the royal hospitality. There Haṁsī comes and informs that Pradyumna is waiting for Prabhāvatī in the garden. Prabhāvatī is taken to the garden by Taralikā and other friends. Here Pradyumna becomes the bee by means of his magical power and enjoys the company of Prabhāvatī. After some time, Pradyumna reveals his original form and takes Prabhāvatī to the palace for marriage.

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Act IV

In the fourth act, Prabhāvatī and Pradyumna are tied with the sacred bond of marriage. In the *Praveśaka,* we are informed about Candravatī and Guṇavatī's love with Gada and Sāmba, two brothers of Pradyumna. Then enter Sarvajñā and Taralikā. From their talk, we are informed about the three children born by the marriages of three couples. It has become now difficult for them to hide three children from the king Vajranābha. There comes Madhuvāṇī crying with news that Vajranābha is inquiring about the parents of these children. Haṁsī goes to Indra to discuss with regard to the solution of the problem. Indra gets ready to depart with his chariot and Mātalī to meet Pradyumna for making plan for war with Vajranābha.

Act V

Lord Kṛṣṇa, Purandara, Mātalī and Haṁsī are observing the war between Pradyumna and Vajranābha's army-group. Pradyumna kills Vajranābha's elder son. Gada and Sāmba also help Pradyumna by *gadāyuddha* and kill many soldiers. Gada kills Candrasena. Now from behind the curtain, it is known that Prabhāvatī, Candravatī and Guṇavatī wish to end their life along with children and friends in the fire. Lord Kṛṣṇa stops them. There comes Nārada with the news that Pradyumna has killed Vajranābha. Then enter Pradyumna, Gada and Sāmba. The drama ends with the following *Bharatavākya*, in which Nārada blesses the three couples for well-being and prosperity of the nation:

शासन्तां वसुधाधिपा भुवममी भूमी सुरार्धा परा
वाचः काव्यकृतां भवन्तु सुरसा लोकाः सुखं प्राप्नुयुः ।
लाभः स्याद्वणिजां क्रयव्यवहृतैर्दौर्जन्यहानिर्भवेद्
दुष्टानां रसिका भवन्तु सुखिनः श्रीरागिणी स्याद्गुरोः ॥

Dramatic Techniques

The dramatist has strictly observed the dramatic techniques to make the play a successful one. All the *arthakriyās, arthopakṣepakas, sandhis, nāndī, bharatavākya* etc. are used following the dramatic rules. There are two *Praveśakas* (Introductory scenes) and two *Viṣkambhakas* (supporting scenes). The author has made proper use of *cūlikā* (intimating speech from behind the curtain)[6] to provide the information of the entry of

6. अन्तर्यवनिकासंस्थैः सूतादिभिरनेकधा ।
अर्थोपक्षेपणं यत्तु क्रियते सा हि चूलिका ॥ *Nātyaśāstra,* XIX.113

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the new characters with some special intention on the stage. At the end of the first act through the dialogue between Haṁsī and Indra the theme of the second act is suggested. This is a case of *Aṅkāsya* (Anticipatory scene)[7]. In the *Viṣkambhaka* of the third act, we are informed about Vajranābha enjoying the play, *Rambhābhisaraṇa*. This episode is not so interesting but cannot be avoided also as it contributes to the development of main theme. So it has been described in the *Viṣkambhaka*.[8]

At the end of the act third, by the dialogues of Prabhāvatī and Pradyumna, we are informed about the story of the fourth act, in which the *gandharvavivāha* is going to take place in the palace. The fourth act starts with the entry of the same characters. This is a case of *Aṅkāvatāra* (transitional scene)[9]. The author has also made use of two *Praveśakas*,[10] in which Candravatī and Guṇavatī's love with Gada and Sāmba is shown developing and also the birth of three children of Prabhāvatī, Candravatī and Gunavatī, their efforts to hide the children from Vajranābha etc. are included. Here the *patākā* (subordinate story), the love-story of Candravatī and Guṇavatī with Gada and Sāmba, which is helpful to the main theme, is described in the *Praveśaka*.

Among the 21 *sandhyantaras* (distinction of the segments), the author has used *sama* (sweet speech), *pradāna* (to give something as identity, Prabhāvatī gives her necklace as an identity to Pradyumna), *vadha* (killing of demon Vajranābha), *dūta, lekha, svapna, citra* etc. are very skillfully described by the author in developing the theme.

Śṛṅgāra is the main sentiment of this drama. So the *kaiśikī-vṛtti* is nicely dealt with. For this, the dramatist has employed, *narma* and *narmasphoṭa* techniques of *kaiśikī-vṛtti* in the dialogues of Prabhāvatī and Pradyumna. The fifth act deals with the description of *vīrarasa* and therefore *sāttvatī-vṛtti* is also found by employing *saṁlāpaka* (serious dialogues between Vajranābha and Pradyumna, Sāmba and Candrasena), *utthāpaka* (one character motivates the other for war; Pradyumna has been motivated by Lord Kṛṣṇa and Indra).

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7. अङ्कान्तपात्रैरङ्कास्यं छिन्नाङ्कस्यार्थसूचनात्। *Daśarūpaka*, I. 61

8. वृत्तवर्त्तिष्यमाणानां कथांशानां निदर्शकः।
संक्षेपार्थस्तु विष्कम्भो मध्यपात्रप्रयोजितः॥ *Ibid.*, I. 59

9. अङ्कावतारस्त्वङ्कान्ते पातोऽङ्कस्याविभागतः। *Ibid.*, I. 62

10. तद्भदेवानुदात्तोक्त्या नीचपात्रप्रयोजितः।
प्रवेशोऽङ्कद्वयस्यान्तः शेषार्थस्योपसूचकः॥ *Ibid.*, I. 60

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In the description of two person's attacking *sampheṭa*, one of the elements of *ārabhaṭī-vṛtti* is also found.

Observations on Prakrit Language

In the present play, there is ample use of Prakrit language. Apart from the small dialogues many verses and long passages are found in the play. This speaks of the playwright's command over the Prakrit language. The Sanskrit *chhāyā* is not given. It may be the reason that the author wants them to read in Prakrit so that one can relish their linguistic peculiarities. There are many women characters namely, Prabhāvatī, Haṁsī, Madhuvāṇī, Taralikā, Sarvajñā *et.al.* Among them, Prabhāvatī and Madhuvāṇī speak Prakrit only, while the elderly and motherly characters like Sarvajñā and Taralikā speak Sanskrit. But Haṁsī is a divine character and she speaks both Sanskrit and Prakrit as per the need. For example, with Pradyumna, she speaks in Sanskrit and with Prabhāvatī in Prakrit.

Innovations

1. To highlight the high family tradition and heroic attributes of the hero Pradyumna, the dramatist has made detailed exposition of birth-episode of Pradyumna.

2. The dramatist has also shown his faculty of imagination by way of sending Pradyumna's picture to Prabhāvatī and Prabhāvatī's picture to Pradyumna for creating the attraction for each other. This has worked as a key to have access to enter the Vajrapura and to kill the demon Vajranābha.

3. One more appreciable trait of the dramatist is that in the main source Pradyumna enters into the Harem in the form of a bee by means of his *māyā* or magical power. In the present play, that episode has been elaborately developed to create a scope for the description of *śṛṅgārarasa*. Here Pradyumna in the form of bee observes all the passionate and sensual behaviour of Prabhāvatī. The author seems to have been inspired by *Śākuntala* of Kālidāsa. But here Pradyumna is the active participant and not the passive observer like Duṣyanta. This change deserves appreciation. This event also highlights the hero's expertise in various techniques of *māyāvidyā* as he was born and brought up with a demon. It is in fact the importance of *vidyā* which helps in achieving the things impossible by any other means.

4. The love-letter episode is also a creation of author's mind.

5. An attempt for suicide by Prabhāvatī in the third and fifth acts is also a complete innovation of the playwright.

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Comparative Observations

The theme of Prabhāvatī and Pradyumna of the *Harivaṁśa* has attracted many poets and dramatists. The occurrence of staging of *Rambhābhisaraṇa-nāṭaka* by *kapaṭa-naṭas* in Vajrapura in the same *adhyāyas* of the *Harivaṁśa* is considered as one of the earliest evidences of origin of drama. When we compare the three dramas *Prabhāvatīpradyumna*, *Prabhāvatīpariṇaya* and *Pradyumnābhyudaya* certain dramatic changes come to our notice.

1. The role which Śucīmukhī plays in *Prabhāvatīpradyumna* and *Prabhāvatī-pariṇaya* is played by Bhadranaṭa in *Pradyumnābhyudayanāṭakam*. Bhadranaṭa narrates the beauty of Pradyumna and creates interest in Prabhāvatī for Pradyumna. In *Prabhāvatīpariṇaya*, Lord Kṛṣṇa's character is omitted.

2. *Pradyumnābhyudaya* is centred around the killing of the demon Vajranābha and victory of Pradyumna, while the drama *Prabhāvatīpariṇaya* and *Prabhāvatīpradyumna* deal much with *Śṛṅgārarasa* and centre at the union of Prabhāvatī and Pradyumna.

3. The characters of Indra and Śucīmukhī are omitted in *Pradyumnābhyudaya*.

4. *Rambhābhisaraṇa* is suggested in *Prabhāvatīpradyumna* and *Prabhāvatīpariṇaya* but it is enacted as a *garbhanāṭaka* in the *Pradyumnābhyudaya*.

5. Marriages of Gada and Sāmba occur in *Praveśaka* in *Pradyumnābhyudaya* and *Prabhāvatīpradyumna* but in *Prabhāvatīpariṇaya* entire fifth act is devoted to this episode.

6. The birth of three children is known after the war in *Pradyumnābhyudaya*, while in other two plays it is the cause of the war.

The comparison of all these three dramas reveal many notable points. It gives an opportunity to understand different perspectives of all these three dramatists, Harihara Jha (*Prabhāvatīpariṇaya*), Ravivarma Kulashekhara (*Pradyumnābhyudaya*) and Ramakrishna Suri (*Prabhāvatīpradyumna*). It is interesting to study their dramatic techniques like the inclusion of the episodes either in *Praveśaka* or *Viṣkambhaka* or as the part of the actual act. Replacement, omission and addition of the characters are noticeable features. It is enjoyable to see how one dramatist has excelled in describing certain episodes and depicting the *śṛṅgāra* and *vīrarasa* and how the other has achieved less success. This shows, how the genius of one dramatist makes the drama interesting and the same becomes less interesting at the hand of other dramatist. This type of comparative study helps in

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understanding the traits of application of the dramatic techniques described by the age-old dramatists. This also facilitates in knowing the subtleties of practical utility of dramatic elements.

Conclusion

At the end I would like to share my experiences with the readers of this article. I came to know that many such interesting Sanskrit plays have still remained in the form of Manuscripts. Though Indian Government is making commendable efforts through the National Mission for Manuscripts (NMM) for preserving our cultural and literary heritage and the Manuscript Resource Centres established in various parts of India are doing appreciable work for collecting the Manuscripts, still no such attempt to the best of my knowledge has been made in collecting the precious literature of Sanskrit dramas in particular. It is an emerging need. Any scholar or any organization can undertake a project for a critical survey by way of collecting, editing and preparing a descriptive bibliography of Sanskrit dramas. I would like to make a pertinent observation in this connection that the dramas are not attracting the attention of the scholars/editors because most of them contain lot of Prakrit language or the manuscripts of the dramas are written in the scripts other than *Devanāgarī,* the script which most of the editors search for! Unless and until the scholars get motivated to learn various scripts as well as Prakrit language such a work cannot be undertaken. I conclude the paper with the hope that the scholars interested in Manuscriptology will take appropriate initiatives in bringing to light many such interesting plays and in motivating the budding scholars to recover them from the oblivion.

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VĀMĀCĀRAMATAKHAṆḌANA - A KĀŚĪNĀTHA BHAṬṬA'S WORK, REFUTING *VĀMĀCĀRA*

SHARMILA BAGCHI*

The period of origin of *Tantra* may not be exactly stated, but, literary evidences (Bhavabhūti - 6th century A.D. and others) suggest that Tantric practices prevailed widely long before the sixth century A.D. It reached the zenith of popularity in the period between seventh and twelfth century. There are some persons who speak of the *Tantras* to be of Buddhist origin. There are *Buddhist-Tantras,* no doubt, but, *Tantras* are not exclusively Buddhist. They went outside India not as a current of Buddhism, but, as a stream of Brahmanical culture. Dr. Manorajana Basu[1] gives many evidences to prove that "*Tāntrika* culture from a distant past, had been running parallel to *Vaidika* culture, sometimes independently or in a distinctive way and sometimes in subsidiary form throughout India and outside." *Tāntrika* ideas are so inextricably blended with different aspects of Hindu way of life and with the doctrines of various religious sects and communities that they can not be sifted individually from the huge mass of ideas that have grown in space and time. Arthur Avalon in the Introduction to the *Tantrābhidhāna*[2] says "It must be universally conceded that the *Tantra* has firstly historical value, and is secondly the only source whence a knowledge of *Sādhanā* in all its aspects may be learnt."

From social point of view, Indian culture is constitutive of two main strands : *Vaidika* and *Tāntrika.* But, when their tenets are religiously and spiritually analysed, we find neither is fully *Vaidika* nor wholly *Tāntrika,* but, both. Historical studies also do not help us in finding out what is truely *Vaidika* and what is purely *Tāntrika,* for, they confront the absence of chronology, metaphysical insight and underlying mystical side of the culture. In reality, *Vedas* and *Tantras* both centre round knowledge which is divine in origin and hence immutable.

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* Oriental Institute, The M.S. University of Baroda, Vadodara.

1. Basu Manoranjan, *Fundamentals of the Philosophy of Tantra,* Mira Basu Publishers, Calcutta - 1986, p. 52
2. *Tantrābhidhāna* - Ed. by Panchanana Bhattacharya, Caxton Publisher, Delhi - 1983, Intro. IV.

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Kinds of Tantra

Though there are innumerable kinds of *Tantra*, generally, they are divided into three categories - *Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva* and *Śākta* which are otherwise called *Saṁhitā, Āgama* and *Tantra*. These terms mean respectively Collection, Tradition and a Set of doctrines or book.[3]

From the standpoint of religious sects and creeds, the *Tantras* fall under five heads viz., *Śaiva, Śākta, Vaiṣṇava, Saura, Gāṇapatya*. These five classes of worshippers are collectively called. *"Pañcopāsakas"*, of which, each one has its own system of worship.

A classificiation of *Tantrika*-texts on the basis of the three *Tantrika* traditions - *Dakṣiṇa, Vāma* and *Madhyama*, is also available, each of which is again subdivided into two classes - inner (*hārda*) and outer (*bāhya*). A fourfold division of *Tantra*-topics into *vidyā, kriyā, yoga*, and caryā, is indicated in many texts. In some cases, *yoga* and *caryā* have been substituted by *upāya*, and *siddhi*.

Broadly speaking, the contents of *Tantra*-literature fall into two classes, one-philosophical and spiritual and the other popular and practical. The latter includes magic, *mantra, mudrā, maṇḍala, nyāsa, cakra, yantra*.[4] The principal aim of *Tantra* is liberation from the cycle of birth and death and attainment of *siddhi* (supernatural power).

Modes of *Tantrasādhanā*

There are various modes of *Sādhanā* recognised in *Tantra*. These are seven according to some and nine according to others. In *Kulārṇavatantra* (Chap. 11), the seven modes are mentioned as - *Vedācāra, Vaiṣṇavācāra, Śaivācāra, Dakṣiṇācāra, Vāmācāra, Siddhāntācāra, Kaulācāra*. Some of the texts hold that the first three of the seven fold *ācāras* are meant for the man having a heroic disposition (*vīra*). There are others who hold that first four of these seven *ācāras* belong to *Paśu* and following three belong to *vīra*. Generally, two of the above practices such as *Dakṣiṇācāra* and *Vāmācāra* are followed by the *Śākta Tāntrikasādhakas*. The *Sādhakas* belonging to *Dakṣiṇācāra* class scrupulously/ religiously follow *Vaidika* injunctions, but, the *Sādhakas* of the *Vāmācāra*-fold resort to *Pañcamakārasādhanā*, such as - *Madya, Māṁsa, Matsya, Mudrā* and *Maithuna*, as their initial letter 'Ma' has the redeeming power of destroying great sins.

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3. *Encyclopaedia of Tantra*, Vol. 1, ed. by Sadhu Santidev, Cosmo Publications, 1999, p. 4.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

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Vāmācāra

Of the existing modes of *Tāntrika* worship, the *Vāmācāra* is so important that the term has become a synonym of *Tantra* itself which is a sheer misconception of the common people. The conception of *Dakṣiṇācāra* as opposed to *Vāmācāra* seems to be a later development. It is possible that the first word of the expression *Vāmācāra* is not *vāma* or left, but *Vāmā* or woman, for, the main feature of this *Tantra* is the highest standard to which they have raised woman-hood."[5] Śakti is manifested in women. When they are approached with reverence, purity and devotion, they raise men to the standard of gods. Unlike modern times, once *Tantra* belonged to the females. Bhattacharya quotes R.G. Bhandarkar in his support, "The ambition of every pious follower of the system is to become identical with Tripurasundarī and one of his religious exercises is to habitute himself to think that God is a woman."[6]

The seven *ācāras* (*Vedācāra* etc.) belonging to three grades of aspirants - *Paśu, Vīra* and *Divya,* are divided into two broad categories - *Daksiṇācāra* and *Vāmācāra.* It is said that the rites containing five *makāras* belong to *Vāmācāra* while those without them are known as *Dakṣiṇācāra* and thus only two *ācāras* prevail. A man belongs to the former by virtue of his birth and to the latter, only by initiation.

The Vedic influence or Brahmanical superimposition is clearly revealed in general category of *Dakṣiṇācāra* which is severely condemned by *Vāmācāra*-school.

The *Merutantra* describes five types of *Vāmācāra-Śābara, Siddhānta, Cīna, Vāma,* and *Kaulika.*[7] The *Śaktisaṅgamatantra*[8] refers to the *Vāmācāra* system as current among the worshippers of Gaṇeśa, Rudra, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Svayambhu, Veda, Bhairava, Kṣetrapāla, Cīna, Kāpālika, Pāśupata, Bauddha, Kerala, Vīra-Vaiṣṇava, Śāmbhava, Cāndra, Aghora etc.

"The followers of *Vāmācāra* are expected to worship the goddess in the traditional way during the day-time, and at night in the special *Tāntrika* way with the help of five *Makāras.* They must not utter the name of Viṣṇu or touch a *tulsī* leaf."[9]

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5. Bhattacharya N.N., *History of Tantrik Religion,* Manhar, Daryagunj, New Delhi, p. 113.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Also in *Puraścaryārṇava,* in three parts, ed. Pratapsimha Shah Bahadur Verma of Nepal Calcutta, 1901, 1902, 1904, Vol. I. p. 22
8. *Tārākhaṇḍa,* I. 84-90
9. Bhattacharya N.N., *op.cit.* p. 316

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It is emphatically stated (in this work also) that the *Brāhmaṇas* are not entitled to be initiated in *Vāmācāra*, but, it is open to all other castes. *Mahākālasaṁhita*[10] states that *vāmācāra* and *Kaulācāra* are prescribed exclusively for *Śūdras* and persons belonging to lower order. Another text (*Siddhāntasāra*) says that a *Brāhmaṇa* ceases to be a *Brāhmaṇa* if he accepts *Kaulatantra*. A *Brāhmaṇa* can be admitted to *Vāmācāra* provided he denounces his Brahmanical heritage and clings to his new faith, not bothering about the disownment by the family and friends and apathy of the society.

Samayācāra however, is known as another form of *Vāmācāra*, but, a section of *Brāhmaṇas* follows the *Samayamārga* by using the five texts known as *Śubhāgamapañcaka*[11] instead of five Makāras. They worship the goddess Samayā as Śakti and god Samaya as Śiva. Of the seven states of *Sādhanā*, first four are described as *Samayācāra* and last three as *Śaivācāra*.[12] The *Kaulācāra* is the most important form of *Vāmācāra* in which the worship of *Kulastrī*, *Kulaguru* and *Kuladevī* is essential. It is totally prohibited for Brahmins. *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, an 11th century work - says that the *Kaula* class of *Tantra* was introduced by Matsyendranātha, but strictly speaking, he was the founder of one of the *Kaula* schools viz., *Yoginīkaula* of Kāmarūpa.[13]

In the *Śāktatantra*, the *Vāmācāra* rites predominate and despite the Brahmanical superimpositions, the anti-Brahmanical character of Tantrism in general and *Vāmācāra* in particular could not be suppressed. Vedic influence or Brahmanical superimposition is clearly revealed in four *ācāras*, namely *Vedācāra*, *Vaiṣṇavācāra*, *Śaivācāra*, *Dakṣiṇācāra*, belonging to the broad general category of *Dakṣiṇācāra*. These ways, however, are severely condemned by the *Vāmācāra* schools.

The work *Vāmācāramatakaṇḍana*

The author of the work - Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa vehemently rejects *Vāmācāra* tenets of worship. Himself a *Tantrasādhaka*, he was a prolific writer of numerous works propogating *Dakṣinācāratantra*.[14] This work is probably the most famous work of Kāśinātha as

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Śūbhāgamapañcaka-Vaśiṣṭhasaṁhitā, Sanakasaṁhitā, Sanandanasaṁhitā, Sanatkumārasaṁhitā Śukasaṁhitā.*

12. Seven states of *Sādhanā-Ārambha, Tāruṇya, Yauvana, Prauḍha, Prauḍhānta, Unmanī, Anavasthā.*

13. Basu Manoranjan, *Op. cit.* p. 61.

14. Vide my article "Contribution of Kāśinātha Bhaṭṭa 'Bhaḍa' to Ritualistic Doctrine" in JOI, Vol. LII, Nos. 3-4, pp. 283-296.

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Chintaharan Chakravarty, NCC (T. RASB, VIII, A. 6446) mention this work. The popularity of this work compelled one Brahmānanda of South (some place near Godavari bank in Andhra Pradesh) to answer the bout on *Vāmācāra* in his work "*Vāmācārasiddhāntasaṅgraha*" (GOMLVXII, 5720). Perhaps in a chain-reaction, Kāśīnātha wrote *Dakṣināćāramatamaṇḍana* (OI, Baroda, 28531)

The work has the characteristics of a discourse in which Kāśīnātha quotes 69 citations from various scriptures denouncing *Vāmācāra* practices. The *Pañcamakāras* - the basic accessories of *Vāmācāra* worship, are detested by the followers of *Dakṣiṇācāra.* The wine-drinking and women seem to be the most disturbing elements to Kāśinātha. He clearly points out (with the help of scriptures) that *Vāmācāra* should not be practised by *Brāhmaṇas* as its style of worship is suitable for *Śūdras* only.

The scriptures are *Merutantra, Pārānandasūtra, Dakṣiṇācāratantrarāja, Bhairavatantra, Bhairavītantra, Jñanārṇava, Kaulārṇava, Śaktisaṅgamatantra, Bṛhattantrarāja, Bhāratottaratantra, Śāradātilaka, Prapañcasāra, Vidyāraṇya.* In *Purāṇa-Kālikāpurāṇa, Skanda, Devi, Kūrma, Saura, Padma, Brahma, Brahmāṇḍa, Bhāgavata* and in *Saṁhitas Agastya, Siddhanātha, Parāśara, Sūta, Mahākāla, Śubhāgamapañcaka* are quoted on various places in the work. Other than these, *Bhagavadgītā, Vedāntasāra, Laghustava* are also cited at different places. Some quotations couldn't be located in their respective works like *Kālikāpurāṇa* (No.5) in this work, *Kūrmapurāṇa* (No. 54), *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (52, 53), *Bhāgavata* (60). Some quotations are quoted otherwise differently like *Jñānārṇava* (No. 11), *Kulārṇava* (No. 38- totally opposite to what it says), *Devībhāgavata* (No. 35), *Bhāgavata* (No. 60),

Written in simple *Anuṣṭubha* metre, the work lacks poetical beauty, but, the author has tried his best to arrest the interest of the readers by citing quotations from everywhere, which not only shows his vast and deep knowledge of scriptures, but, also the Vedic and Puranic support for *Dakṣiṇācāra.*

The Author

The author Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa[15] Bhaḍa, as mentioned earlier, was an authority on *Dakṣiṇācāratantra.* He was a resident of Banārasa. His parents were Jayarāma Bhaṭṭa and Vārāṇasī and grandfather was Śivarāma. His father and maternal-grandfather Ananta, were his learned teachers (very often mentioned by him in his works). As a strict-follower

15. *Ibid* - pp. 283-284 for a detailed information about the author.

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of *Dakṣiṇācāra*, he spent his life in re-establishing long-forgotten and sometimes, lost ritualistic Vedic and Tantric traditions. He is also known as Viśvanātha alias Śivānanda.

The number of works composed by Kāsīnātha is very large. He himself has mentioned 15 of his works in *Dakṣiṇācāradīpikā*[16]. Chintaharan Chakravarty mentions 56 works attributed to him (on the basis of Mss. available in Asiatic Society, Kolkata). The Oriental Institute of Baroda has 9 works of Kāśinātha of which 4 are not mentioned anywhere. *The New Catalogus Catalogorum* (NCC) mentions 30 works of Kāśīnātha of which some are doubted by Chakravarty as being authored by Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa "Bhaḍa'.

His works were well-known in different parts of India as many Ms.-copies of his works with more than one version are found in different States of India. It seems that he used to deliver lectures in public-gatherings in different cities. One of his works "*Tantrasthahṛdayam*" (OI, Baroda 10596) seems to be delivered in live audience at Nagpur!

The time of Kāśīnātha could not be ascertained as it was not mentioned anywhere by him. Chintaharan Chakravarty was only able to furnish the genealogy on the basis of introductory verses and colophons of his various works and assumed that he lived after Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita (16th Century). Manoranjan Basu mentions him in the list of well-known *Sādhaka* of Benaras.[17]

The Manuscript

The *Vāmācāramatakhaṇḍana* is a compilation of quotations from various scriptures, condemning *Pañcamakāras* for *Brāhmaṇas* and thus highlighting *Dakṣiṇācāra Tantra*. A work of 69 *ślokas*, it is probably a discourse given by Kāśīnātha.

The Oriental Institute of Baroda purchased the Xerox-copy of the work from Mr. Girish Takle of Nasik (Maharastra) in the year 1998.

The original manuscript is in good condition, but, purhaps it is copied from a *currupt Ms. copy of the work* as many misquoted examples, grammatical and spelling mistakes and blank spaces - *lacunae* (the scribe may have not been able to read) are found in the Ms.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 287

17. Basu Manoranjan, *Op. Cit.*, p. 47.

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Fol. 9b and 10a are fully *marginalia* of left out portions and are in two different handwritings.

The physical description of the manuscript is as following :-

Acc. No. 27614	Sub. - *Tantra*
Title - *Vāmācāramatakhaṇḍana*	Fols. - 16
Author - Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa	Grs. - 180
Lang./script-Skt./DN	Material - Paper
	Size - 18 x 9.5 cms.
	Margin - 2.5 x 2 cms.

Each side of a folio contains 7 lines and there are 26 *akṣaras* in each line. The original manuscript of the work is deposited with Mr. Girish Takle of Nasik to whom we extend our gratitude for kindly supplying a xerox-copy of the same. According to NCC, Vol. 4, p. 131, another copy of the work is deposited in Asiatic Society, Kolkata (RASB VIII, A 6446) but, it could not be procured for comparison.

Conclusion

The contribution of Kāśīnātha to popularise *Dakṣiṇācāratantra* is immense. When there are two divisions of a sect, it is obvious that each should consider itself superior to the other. The followers of *Vāmācāra* considered themselves so much superior and so emphatically cast their spell on the followers of *Tantra* that it became a synonym of a full-fledged *Tantra*-school. During the period of 17th and 18th century, the *Vāmācāra* practices appear to have been very popular and in order to check the onslaught of the *Vāmācāra* followers on the society, Kāśīnātha appears to have taken the challenge of refuting *Vāmācāra* theory very vehemently by composing many works, specially *Vāmācāramatakhaṇḍana*, establishing the superiority of *Dakṣiṇācāra*.

(Text)

वामाचारमतखण्डनम्

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वामाचारमतखण्डनम्

F1b श्रीगणेशाय नमः । श्रीदक्षिणामूर्तिगुरुभ्यो नमः ।

वीरासनैकनिलयाय हिरण्मयाय
न्यग्रोधमूलगृहिणे निटिलेक्षणाय ।
गङ्गाधराय गजचर्मविभूषणाय
प्राचीनपुण्यपुरुषाय नमः शिवाय ॥१॥
अनन्ताख्यं गुरुं नौमि कवित्वप्रतिभास्करम् ।
शास्त्रवल्लीजलधरं स्फुरत्कीर्तिकरं परम् ॥ २ ॥

नत्वा श्रीशङ्कराचार्यचरणाम्भोरुहद्वयम् ।
काशीनाथः प्रतनुते **वामाचारस्य खण्डनम्** ॥३॥

F2a इह खलु परब्रह्मपरमकारुणिकेन भगवता श्रीदक्षिणामूर्तिगुरुणा* चतुःषष्टितन्त्रेषु यामलाष्टकेषु[1] च ब्राह्मणादीनधिकृत्य सव्यमार्गेण प्रादक्षिण्येन सर्वोऽप्यनुष्ठानकलापः प्रतिपादितः । शूद्रानधिकृत्यापसव्यमार्गेण वामाचारा निरूपिताः । तथा **श्रीमेरुतन्त्रे दक्षिणाचारतन्त्रराजे** च -

त्रैवर्णिकैर्महादेवि वामाचारं न कारयेत् ।
वामागमो मदुक्तोऽयं सर्वशूद्रपरः प्रिये ॥

ब्राह्मणैर्मदि[रा]दानात् ब्राह्मण्येन वियुज्यते ।
न कर्तव्यं न कर्तव्यं न कर्तव्यं कदाचन ॥
इदं तु साहसं देवि कर्त्तव्यं [न] कदाचन ॥५॥ इति

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1. Though the *Tantras* are said to be innumerable but a group of 64 *Tantras*, belonging to the three regions *Viṣṇukrāntā*, *Rathakrāntā* and *Aśvakrāntā*, each has been mentioned in the Intro. to *Śritantrābidhāna* (with names), Ed. by Panchanana Bhattacharya, Caxton Pub. Delhi 1983, pp. ii-iv.

Aṣṭayāmala - Rudra, Skanda, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Yama, Vāyu, Kubera, Indra. Two old texts *Piṅgalāmālā* and *Jayadratha* belong to *Yāmala* group. Besides, there are other *Yāmalas* like Āditya and Gaṇeśa. - *History of Tantrik Religion*, p. 52

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F2b सर्वशूद्रपरः सर्वथा शूद्रपरः । *ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मणजातिः । मदि[रा] आदानात् ब्राह्मण्येन वियुज्यते ॥ वियुक्तो भवति । ब्राह्मण्यवामोपासकत्वयोर्मध्ये ब्राह्मण्यमपगच्छेत् । वामोपासकत्वमात्रमवशिष्यते इत्यर्थः । इदं तु साहसम् । ब्राह्मण्यजिहासायामेव सुरापानम् ।

कालीपुराणेऽपि -

यो दाक्षिण्यं विना विप्रो महाविद्यां प्रपूजयेत् ।
स पापः स्वर्गलोकात्तु च्युतो भवति रोगधृक् ॥
विप्रो यः पूजको वामः सोऽन्योऽपि पुण्यवर्जितः । इति
दाक्षिण्यं दक्षिणमार्गमात्रम् ॥ ५ ॥

श्रीमेरुतन्त्रे[2] -

''उपासना द्विधा प्रोक्ता श्रेष्ठा तत्र तु सात्त्विकी ॥
F3a यस्यां च मानसी पूजा जपो मुख्यमनः(तमः)* स्मृतः ।
राजसो दक्षिणो मार्गो प्रतिमायां च पूजनम् ॥''

राजोपचारैः पुष्पाद्यैस्तदा ध्यानं विशिष्यते ।
मानसोपासनं प्रोक्तं भगादौ बलिदानतः ॥

एषा व्यवस्था संप्रोक्ता वामदक्षिणयोः परा ।
गोपिता सर्वतन्त्रेषु किमन्यच्छ्रोतुमिच्छसि ॥६॥
''अधो गच्छन्ति तामसाः'' इति **भगवद्वाक्यम्**[3] ॥ ५ ॥ यत्तु वामकाः -
F3b ''विनाहेतुकमखाद्यं क्षोभयुक्तो महेश्वरः । न पूजयेत् परमेश्वरी''त्यादि तन्त्रवचनानि* पठित्वा दक्षिणाचारमतं मम प्रामाण्यमेवेति जल्पन्ति तच्छुभम् ॥८॥

तथा च **भैरवतन्त्रे** -

''ब्राह्मणं मदिरां दत्त्वा ब्राह्मण्यादेव हीयते ।
स्वगात्ररुधिरं दत्त्वा ब्रह्महत्यामवाप्नुयात् ॥९॥ इति ॥

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2. **मेरुतन्त्रम्** - रघुनाथशास्त्री झा, श्री वेङ्कटेश्वर स्टीममुद्रणयन्त्रालये, 104b, 105/1 प्रकाश/p.6

3. The one and half lines are not quoted in the example -
ऊर्ध्वं गच्छन्ति सत्त्वस्था मध्ये तिष्ठन्ति राजसाः ।
जघन्यगुणवृत्तिस्था अधो गच्छन्ति तामसाः ॥ 18 ॥ **श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता,** गीता प्रेस, गोरखपुर, 1998 *Adh.* 14 p. 204

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भैरवीतन्त्रे -

''क्षीरेण ब्राह्मणैस्तथा घृतेन नृपवंशजैः ।
म(मा)क्षिकैर्वैश्यवर्णस्तु आसवैः शूद्रजातिभिः'' ॥१०॥

ज्ञानार्णवे[4] -

''वर्णानुक्रमभेदेन द्रव्यभेदा भवन्ति वै ॥११॥

महाकालसंहितायाम् -

''द्रव्येण सात्त्विकेनैव ब्राह्मणः पूजयेत् शिवम्'' ॥१२॥

लघुस्तवे -

''विप्राः क्षोणिभुजो विशस्तदितरे क्षीराज्यमध्वासवैः'' ॥ इति ॥

F4a विप्राः ब्राह्मणाः क्षीरेण । क्षोणिभुजो क्षे(क्ष)त्रियाः आज्येन । विशो वैश्या माक्षिकेन मधुना । तदितरे शूद्रा आसवेन ॥१३॥

कालीपुराणे[5] -

''स्वगात्ररुधिरं दत्त्वा आत्मवध्यमवाप्नुयात् ।
मद्यं दत्त्वा ब्राह्मणस्तु ब्राह्मण्यादेव हीयते'' ॥१४॥ इति ॥

''वामागमोऽपि विप्रस्तु मद्यं मांसं न भक्षयेत् ।
स्वकीयां परकीयां वा नाकृष्य ब्राह्मणो यजेत् ॥ इति ॥

बृहच्छ्रीक्रमसंहितातंत्रसारादिलिखितवचनाच्च । आकृष्येत्यस्य धनदानादिना वशीकृत्येत्यर्थः ॥१५॥

''मद्यद्रव्यं तु शूद्रस्य नेतरेषां कदाचन'' इति **स्कन्दपुराण**वचनाच्च ॥१६॥

वैश्यस्य माक्षिकं शुद्धं क्षत्रियस्य तु साज्यकम् ।
ब्राह्मणस्य गवां क्षीरमित्युक्तश्च.... ॥ १७ ॥

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4. In **Jñānārṇava,** not exactly the same words, but, in *Dvāviṁśapaṭala* (22 chapter) - *dravyabhedāḥ* are given according to *varṇāḥ*-
सविकल्पस्य देवेशि वर्णानुक्रमभेदतः ॥ १० ॥
कथ्यन्ते द्रव्यभेदास्तु क्रमेण वरवर्णिनि ।
क्षीराज्यमधुमैरेयद्रव्यभेदाः भवन्ति हि ॥११॥
Ed. by Ganesh Shastri Gokhle, Anandashramgranthavali No. 69, Pune, 1912, p. 107.

5. **कालिकापुराण,** अध्याय-67/520 विश्वनारायणशास्त्री, चौखम्भा संस्कृतसीरीज आफिस, वाराणसी-१, 1972, p. 465.

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''पुनः पीत्वा पुनः पीत्वा पतित्वा धरणीतले ।
उत्थाय च पुनः पीत्वा पुनर्जन्म न विन्दति ॥''[6]

इत्यादि तु शूद्रपरमेव । मद्ये ब्रह्मशापकृष्णशापशुक्रशापविमोचनप्रकारोऽपि शूद्रस्यैव । तं विना तेन द्रव्येण पूजने शूद्रादीनामपि सिद्धिप्रतिबन्धात् ॥१८॥

F5a अत एव **देवी*पुराणे-**[7]

''वेश्यासु गोपबालासु उद्रकूपपरेषु च'' । शूद्रे स्त्रीषु विशेषेण पुलिन्दशबरेषु च । लोकोत्तरेण मार्गेण वामाचारे[च] सिद्धिदा इति शूद्रादीनामेव तत्राधिकार उक्तः । लोकोपचारेणेत्यस्य लोकविलक्षणेन च [त]दनङ्गीकृतेनेत्यर्थः । स्त्रीशब्देनातिभ्रष्टा विप्रादिस्त्रियोऽपि ॥ १९ ॥

मेरुतन्त्रे -[8]

''प्रतिलोमान्पुष्पवतीं यवनान्बौद्धकौलिकान् ।
आचारहीनान् शूद्राँश्च दृष्ट्वा नैव x x x'' ॥२०॥

F5b अथा**गस्त्यसंहितायाम**पि गौरीं प्रति *शिववाक्यम् -

''आवाभ्यां पिशित्वरक्तसुरां वापि सुरेश्वरि ।
वर्णाश्रमोचितं धर्मं मम विचार्यापिबन्ति ये ॥
भूतप्रेतपिशाचास्ते भवन्ति ब्रह्मराक्षसाः । इति ॥२१॥

कौलार्णवेऽपि[9] - ''तस्माद्ब्राह्मणराजन्यौ वैश्यस्तु न सुरां पिबेत् ॥
सुरादर्शनमात्रेण कुर्या[त्] सूर्यावलोकनम् ।
तत्समाघ्राणमात्रेण प्राणायामत्रयं चरेत् ॥२१॥'' इत्यादि

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6. **Pārānandasūtra,** GOS-LVI, Ed. Trivikrama Tirtha, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1931, *Adh.* 82; p. 17.

7. **Devīpurāṇa** - Ed. Pushpendra Kumar Sharma, Lal Bahadur Shastri Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapith, New Delhi, 1976, 39 *Adh.* 144a, p. 160.

8. **मेरुतन्त्र** - द्वितीयप्रकाश, 46b, p. 9, it is found as -
स्त्रीशूद्रप्रतिलोमानां नाममन्त्रैरुपासना ॥ ४६॥

9. In **कुलार्णव,** we find quite opposite a view to what is quoted here -
सुरादर्शनमात्रेण सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ।
तद्वन्धाघ्राणमात्रेण शतक्रतुफलं लभेत् ॥३८॥ 5th *Ullāsa.*
Ed. Taranatha Vidyaratna, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi 1984.

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तत्र त्रिविधम् । वामकमवामकं मिश्रकम् । ''कौलमार्गं च परि[त्यक्]त्वा जहि शाङ्करि इति'' ईश्वरवचनान्मिश्रमतं कौलमतं
F6a च त्याज्यम् । अतश्च* दक्षिणाचार एव त्रैवर्णिकैराचरणीयः । केवलशुद्धमार्गप्रदर्शनपरत्वादिति । कौलमार्गो वामाचारप्रधानो मार्गः । मिश्रक यत्र वामदक्षिणोभयमार्गकथनम् ॥२२॥

तथा च **दक्षिणाचारतन्त्रराजे** दक्षिणा[चार]तन्त्रोक्तं कर्म च शुद्धवैदिकम् ।

''प्रभाते स्नानसंध्यादि मध्याह्ने जपमीश्वरि ।
और्णमासनमात्मार्थं भक्ष्यं पायसशर्करा ॥
मालारुद्राक्षसंभूता पात्रं पाषाणसम्भवम् ।
भोगः स्वकीयकान्ताभिः दक्षिणाचार इत्ययम् ॥
F6b दक्षिणे कर्मणि कलौ* नराणां धीः सुदुर्लभा ।
यथा नीचं जलं याति कलौ नीचं तथा मनः ।
तेनाज्ञानात्कलौ देवि वामकौले कृतादराः'' ॥२३॥ इति

क्षीरं सर्पिर्मधूदकमिति **श्रुते**श्च ॥२४॥ **बृहत्तन्त्रराजे** - ''दुग्धेन द्राविडे पूजा काश्मीरे भावना मता'' ॥२५॥

शक्तिसंगमतन्त्रे - ''वामदक्ष(क्षौ) मलेशानि (म्लेच्छानि?) क्रूरसौम्यक्रमेण'' चेति ॥२६॥

बृहत्तन्त्रराजे - ''ब्राह्मणेन तथा कार्यं ब्राह्मण्यं न विनश्यति ।
ब्राह्मणौ(णो) मदिरां दृष्ट्वा ब्राह्मण्यादेव हीयते ॥
ब्राह्मणस्त्व[?]ब्राह्मणानुकल्पं दत्त्वा चाण्डालतामियात् ।
F7a *मांसभक्षी द्विजो यस्तु वेदबाह्यो यथा स्मृतः ।
तथैव वेदबाह्यो हि स द्विजः परिकीर्तितः ॥
वेदमूलाः क्रियाः सर्वा ब्राह्मणे वेद एव च ।
प्राणावरमयच्छन् तु ब्राह्मणो नार्चयेत्सुराम् ॥'' २७॥ इत्यादि

तथा च **दक्षिणाचारतन्त्रराजे** शिवः -

''वामाचारमवृत्त्याऽत्र सुरामांसादिसाधनैः ।
प्रत्यक्षयोन्यां तां ध्यात्वा कृत्वाऽधोमुखमेव तु ॥
त्रिकोणं मन्मथछत्रं कृत्वा यजन्ति कौलिकाः ।
दिगम्बरक्षपणकप्रमुखास्तु यजन्ति च रतां तां युवतीम् ॥

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F7b नग्नां ऊर्ध्वं त्रिकोणपूज*काः ।

बहु वक्तव्यमत्रास्ति मया वक्तुं न शक्यते ।
स्मरणार्हमपि तत्र स तु मार्गो ह्यवैदिकः ॥इति।

अत्र **नाममालायाम्** । सुरामांसमधुमद्यादिद्रव्यैः समाराधनं वामाचारप्रवृत्त्या । प्रत्यक्षत्रिकोणस्थानं मन्मथच्छत्रं कृत्वा संपूजयन्ति । अधोमुखत्रिकोणं अधोमुखमेव छत्रं पूजयन्ति । दिगम्बरक्षपणकादयस्तु स्त्रियमुत्तानां कृत्वा तदूर्ध्वं त्रिकोणं पूजयन्तीति तेषां रतस्त्वमत्र बहुवक्तव्यमस्ति तत्तु अवैदिकमार्गत्वात्स्मरणार्हमपि न भवति ॥ २८ ॥

F8a *यत्तु -

अद्वैतज्ञाननिष्ठो यो योऽसौ संसारपारगः ।
स एव यजते द्रव्यैरधिकारी परो भवेत् ॥'' इति

सिद्धनाथसंहितायामुक्तं तत्तु न यथाश्रुतम् । तादृशस्य क्रममात्रे अधिकाराभावात् ॥२७॥

अथ **कौर्मे**[10] एकादशा(द्वादशा)ऽध्याये -

''कापालं पांचरात्रं च यामलं वाममार्हतम् । -
एवंविधानि चान्यानि मोहनार्थानि तानि तु ॥
ये कुशास्त्राभियोगेन मोहयन्तीह मानवान् ।
मया सृष्टानि शास्त्राणि मोहायैषां भवान्तरे ॥''

F8b *इत्यादि वचनेन वाममार्गादीनां मोहकत्वमुक्तम् ॥(३०॥) तथा च **पुराणान्तरे** -

पांचरात्रे च कापाले तथा कालमुखेऽपि च ।
बौद्धे च दी[क्षि]ता यूयं भवत ब्राह्मणाधमाः ॥३१॥

पा(प)राशरे -

''पांचरात्रे च कापाले पाखण्डेष्वखिलेष्वपि ।
दीक्षिताश्च भविष्यन्ति मनुष्याः पापकर्मिणः ॥३२॥ इति

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10. **कूर्मपुराण,** Ed. by Mansukh Roy More, 5, Clive Row, Calcutta-1, 1962, p. 55, 22 *Adh., Śl.* - 262, 263,

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कौर्मे[11] -

''वामपाशुपताचारास्तथा वै पाञ्चरात्रिकाः ।
भविष्यन्ति कलौ तस्मिन्ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रियास्तथा ॥३३॥'' इति

सौरपुराणे[12] दधीचिरुवाच-

''एते च ब्राह्मणाः सर्वे ये द्विषन्ति महेश्वरम् ।
F9a भवन्तु वेदबाह्या*स्ते ततोऽपहतचेतसः ॥
पाख(ष)ण्डाचारनिरताः सर्व(र्वे) निरयगामिनः ।
कलौ युगे तु सम्प्राप्त(प्ते) दरिद्राः शूद्रयाजकाः ॥
सर्वस्मादधिको रुद्रः पशुपाशविमोचनः(कः) ।
पराङ्मुखस्तु युष्माकं मा भू[दि]ज्याकरी गतिः ॥३४॥ इति

कौर्मे[13]ऽपि - ब्राह्मणानां गौतमशापप्रकरणे -

चकार माल(मोह)शास्त्राणि केशवः सशिवस्तथा
(केशवोऽपि शिवेरितः) ॥
काभवं (कापालं) नाकुलं वामं भैरवं पूर्वपश्चिमम् ।
पांचरात्रं पाशुपतं तथान्यानि सहस्रशः ॥
क्वचित्क्वचित्पुराणादौ वेदमूलेऽपि सर्वथा ।
F9b सन्ति निर्मूलतन्त्रांशास्ते*ऽनुग्राह्या न वैदिकैः'' ॥३५॥ इति

पाद्मे[14] पार्वतीश्वरसंवादेऽपि -

''शृणु देवि प्रवक्ष्यामि तामसानि यथाक्रमम् ।
येषां स्मरणमात्रेण पावित्र्यं ज्ञानिनामपि (मोहः स्याज्ज्ञानिनामपि) ॥
प्रथमं हि मयैवोक्तं [शैवं] पाशुपतादिकम् ।

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11. *Ibid.*, *Pūrvārdha*, *Adh.* 30, *Śloka* 25, p. 132.
12. **सौरपुराण,** Anandashramsanskritgranthavali-18, Anandashrama, 22 Budhvarapeth, Pune-1980, *Adh.*-7, *Śloka*-39-40, p. 22
13. **कूर्मपुराणः** - *Pūrvārdha*, *Adh.* 16, *Śloka* 118b-119, p. 76
14. **पद्मपुराण** Part V, Gurumandala Series No. 18, 5, Clive Row, Calcutta - 1. 1959, *Uttarakhaṇḍa*, *Adh.* 236, 81, *Śloka*-1-11, pp. 815-816.

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मच्छवेशि(च्छक्त्यावेशि)तैर्विप्रैः प्रोक्तानि च ततः शृणु ॥
कणादेन तु सम्प्रोक्तं शास्त्रं वैशेषिकं महत् ।
गौतमेन तथा न्यायं सांख्यं तु कपिलेन वै ॥
मदाज्ञया जैमिनिना पूर्ववेदमपार्थकम् ।
निरीश्वरेण वादेन कृतं शास्त्रं महत्तरम् ।
(विशेषेण तथा प्रोक्तं चार्वाकमतिगर्हितम् ।)
दैत्यानां नाशनार्थाय विष्णुना बुद्धरूपिणी(णा) ।
बौद्धशास्त्रमसत्प्रोक्तं नग्ननीलपटादिकम् ॥
F10a [15]मायावादमसच्छास्त्रं प्रच्छन्नं बौद्ध उच्यते (बौद्धमुच्यते) ।
मयैव कथितं देवि कलौ ब्राह्मणरूपिणा ॥
अपार्थं श्रुतिवाक्यानां दर्शयन्लोकगर्हितम् ।
स्वकर्मरूपत्याज्यत्वं यत्र वै प्रतिपाद्यते ॥
सर्वधर्म(कर्म)परिभ्रष्टैर्नैष्कर्म्यत्वं तदुच्यते ।
परेशजीवयोरैक्यं मयाऽत्र प्रतिपाद्यते ॥
''ब्रह्मणोऽस्य(त्र) स्वयं(परं) रूपं निर्गुणं वक्ष्यते मया ।
सर्वस्य जगतोऽप्यत्र मोहनार्थं कलौ युगे ॥''
वेदार्थवन्महाशास्त्रं मायावादमवैदिकम् ।
मयैव कथितं देवि जगतां नाशकारणात् ॥'' इति

न्यायवैशेषिकयोः सुखदुःखादिमत्त्वमात्मनः श्रुतिविरुद्धम् । निरीश्वरता सांख्यमीमांसयोः श्रुतिविरुद्धेति तदंशे तेषां अप्रामाण्यम् । मायावादो नास्तिकानाम् ॥ ३६ ॥

अत्र

''सांख्ययोगः पाञ्चरात्रं वेदाः पाशुपतं तथा ।
प्रा[ग]ल्प्यप्रामाण्येतानि न हन्तव्यानि हेतुभिः'' ॥ इति

F10b **भारतोत्तरतन्त्रे**ऽथात्मनि योंऽशः प्रमाणं तदतिरिक्तांशस्य वेदविरुद्धस्यापि भ्रष्टविप्रान्यत्येव* प्रमाणत्वम् ॥३७॥

तथापि ''योंऽशो मार्गाणां वेदेन न विरुध्यते । सः अंशः (सोंऽशो) प्रमाणमित्युक्तं केषांचिदधिकारिणां इति **सूतसंहितोक्तेः** केषाञ्चिदेव प्रमाणं ननु सर्वेषामिति तदर्थः ॥३८॥

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15. This *śloka* is not found in *"Padmapurāṇa"* edition used here.

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अथ **शुभागमपञ्चके** त्रैवर्णिकानां बाह्यपूजानिषेधः । **शुभागमपञ्चकं** नाम **वसिष्ठसंहिता, सनकसंहिता, सनन्दनसंहिता, सनत्कुमारसंहिता, शुकसंहिता** चेति पञ्चसंहिताः । तत्र **सनत्कुमारसंहितायाम् -**

"बाह्यपूजा न कर्तव्या कर्तव्या बाह्यजातिभिः ।
F11a सा च क्षुद्रप"रा नृणामैहिकसाधनान् [परान्] ॥
बाह्यपूजारताः कौलाः क्षणणा(पणका)श्च क(का)पालिकाः ।
दिगम्बरा एत्तिलासाः वामकास्तन्त्रवादिनः ॥
आन्तराराधनपरा वैदिका ब्रह्मवादिनः ।
जीवन्मुक्ताश्चरन्त्येते त्रिलोकेषु च सर्वदा ॥" इति

कौलाः आधारपूजारताः, **क्षपणकाः** पोषित्रिकोणपूजारताः, **कापालिकादि दिगम्बराश्च** उभयत्र निरताः, **ऐत्तिलासाः** भैरवयामलप्रामाण्यवादिनः । **वामकाः** वामकेश्वरादि कौलतन्त्रवादिन इत्येकं पदम् । आन्तरपूजारताः F11b ब्रह्मवादिनः शुभागमतत्त्व"वेदिनः इति ।

पुनस्तत्रैव -

"ये कुर्वन्त्यन्तरार्भैव दहराकाशजोऽथवा ।
सहस्रारादिके देव्याः समयाचारवैदिकाः ॥
दहराकाशजं नाम हृदाकाशावकाशजे ।
श्रीचक्रे देवतां ध्वात्वा मानसैरुपचारतः ॥
यजन्त्यथैक्यभावेन यद्वा मंत्रार्थरूपिणी ।
समयाचारिणां सार्चा वैदिकी ह्यन्तरार्चना ॥
वैदिक्यां ह्यन्तरार्चाङ्गं ..... सुरादिकम् ।
नैवास्ति दूरतोऽपास्तं तत्कौलाचारिणां ध्रुवम्" ॥३९॥ इति

श्रीज्ञानार्णवे

"यतिर्वा भूपतिर्वापि नान्योऽस्ति मम पूजकः ।
F12a यतीनामान्तरं प्रोक्तमितरेषां न तथोभयम् ॥ इति
मम त्रिपुरायाः ॥४०॥ **भैरवतन्त्रे-**

चक्रं त्रिपुरसुन्दर्या ब्रह्माण्डाकारमीश्वरीम् ।
मायादितत्त्वरूपां च त्वातीतं तु बैन्दवम् ॥

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वैन्दवे जगदुत्पत्तिः स्थितिसंहारकारिणीति ॥४१॥

अथ देवताध्याने ऐच्छिको विकल्पः स्मर्यतो तथा **चार्णवे**

''पुरुषं चिन्तयेद्देवि स्त्रीरूपं वा विचिन्तयेत् ।
अथवा निष्कलं ध्यायेत्सच्चिदानन्दविग्रहम् ॥४२॥

ब्रह्मपुराणेऽपि - ''ब्रह्मणस्त्रीणि रूपाणि निर्गुणं प्रकृतिः पुमान्'' ॥इति ४३॥

तथा च **श्रुतिः-**

F12b ''उपासकानां कार्यार्थं ब्रह्मणो रूपकल्पना''॥४४॥

भगवता वेदपुरुषेणापि **श्रीदेवीसूक्ते ऋग्वेदान्तर्गते** सर्वदेवमयत्वं भगवत्याः प्रतिपादितम् ''अहं रुद्रेभिः'' इत्यादिभिः ॥४५॥

स्वतन्त्रा विश्वसिद्धिहेतुरिति **शक्तिसूत्रे** ॥४६॥

[16]**ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे**ऽपि ''स्वतन्त्राहं सदा देवाः स्वेच्छाचारविहारिणी'' ॥४७॥ इति

''चैतन्यरूपा शक्तिरिति'' **गौडपादीयसूत्रम्** ॥४८॥

[17]श्री**देवीभागवते** प्राथमिकश्लोकोऽपि -

''सर्वचैतन्यरूपां तामाद्यां विद्यां च धीमहि ।
बुद्धिं या नः प्रचोदयात् ॥''४९॥

F13a ''सैषानन्दस्य मीमांसा* भवती **श्रुती**रपि ।

''आनन्दस्य ब्रह्मणः सैषा चिद्रूपाशक्तिमीमांसा भवति विमर्शान्निष्का[मो]भवतीति'' शङ्कारारण्यचरणै**र्विद्यारत्ने** व्याख्यातत्वात् ॥५०॥

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16. **ब्रह्माण्डपुराण,** *khaṇḍa 3*, Ed. Acharya Jagadish Shastri, Motilal Banarasidass, 1973, *Lalitopākhyāna, Adh.* 15, *Śloka* - 2a, p. 179

17. **देवीभागवत,** *Skandha* 1, *Adh.* 1, *Śl.* 1, p. 1. Ed. Nagsharan Singh, Nag Publication, Jawaharnagar, Delhi, 1986.

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देवीभागवते -

''आराधयेत्परां शक्तिं प्रपञ्चोल्लासवर्जितम् ।
स्वानुभूत्या स्वयं साक्षात्स्वात्मभूतां महे[श्व]रीम् ॥
पूजयेदादरेणैव पूजा सा पुरुषार्थदा ॥''५१॥ इति

ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे -

''वर्णाश्रमवि(ही)नानां पापिष्ठानां नृणामपि ।
F13b यद्रूपं *ध्यानमात्रेण दुष्कृतं सुकृताय च'' ॥५२॥ इति

तत्रैव -

''ब्रह्मा विष्णुस्तथा शंभुर्वासवो वरुणो यमः ।
वापुरंसि(वायुरग्नि) कुबेरश्चेत्यष्टा पूषाऽश्विनौ भगः ॥
आदित्या वसवो रुद्रा विश्वेदेवा मरुद्गणाः ।
सर्वे ध्यायन्ति ता(तां) देवीं सृष्टिस्थित्यन्तकारिणीम्'' ॥५३॥

कौर्मे-

पुराणादौ तु तन्त्रांशान् शास्त्राणि तु शिवाज्ञया ।
देवा ह्युपायं बुद्ध्यैव गृह्णीयात्तान्त्रिको मुदा ॥
वेदनिष्ठोऽपि तन्त्राणि तान्त्रिकांश्च न दूषयेत् ।
त्यक्त्वा वेदविरुद्धानि वेदमेकं समाश्रयेत् ''॥५४॥ इत्यादि

तन्त्राणि **दक्षिणाचारतंत्रराज**वचनात् ॥५५॥

प्रपञ्चसारे[18] ''एवं कृत्वा तु सिद्ध्यर्थं गायत्रीं दीक्षितो जपेत्'' इति उक्तम् । अस्यार्थः - एवमुक्तप्रकारेण न्यासान्कृत्वा दीक्षितः दक्षिणाचारोक्तकलशाभिषेकलक्षणगायत्रीविषयतान्त्रिकदीक्षावान् जपेदित्यर्थः ॥ (५६)

अनेन तादृशदीक्षावन्त एव न्यासपूर्वकतज्जपेऽधिकाखन्तस्तद्रहितस्य केवलशुद्धवैदिकस्य न न्यासेऽधिकार इति स्पष्टमेवोक्तम् ॥५७॥

तथा च **शारदा**याम्[19] न्यासानुक्त्वा -

तत्त्वलक्षं विधानेन भिक्षां स विजितेन्द्रियः ।
F14b व्याहृतित्रयसंयुक्तां गायत्रीं दीक्षितो जपेत् ॥''

इत्यादि उक्तम् । अनेन पुरश्चरणमपि तान्त्रिकमिति स्पष्टमेवोक्तम् ॥ ॥५८॥

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18. **प्रपञ्चसार** - Ed. Atalananda Sarasvati, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi - 1981, *Paṭala* - 30, *Śloka* 37, p. 325.

19. **शारदातिलकम्** Ed. Mukund Jha Bakshi, Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1963, *Paṭala* 21, *Śloka* 19, P. 470, but in the printed book, lines of *Śloka* are in reverse sequence.

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एवं बौधायनादिभिर्यच्छतरुद्रियविषये न्यासपूर्वकं जपहोमादिकथनं तदपि **शैवागमाद्युक्ततान्त्रिकदीक्षावतामेव** नान्येषामिति बोध्यम् ॥५७॥

श्रीमद्भागवते[20] -

''वैदिकस्तान्त्रिकमिश्रितोवाऽपि विप्रादीनां विधीयते ।
तान्त्रिको विप्रभक्तस्य शूद्रस्यापि प्रकीर्तितः ॥'' इति

मिश्रश्च वैदिकप्राधान्यतन्त्रप्राधानाभ्यां द्विधा ॥६०॥

F15a **श्रीमद्विद्यारण्यास्तु** -

''पञ्चरात्रं भागवतं शैवसिद्धान्तसंज्ञितम् ।
सर्वमेतन्महाप्राज्ञैः प्रोक्तं वैदिकतान्त्रिकम् ॥''

शारदातिलकं तद्वन्मन्त्रदैवप्रकाशिका । **प्रपञ्चसारं** चाशेषं प्रोक्तं वै[दि]कतां[त्रि]कमिति ॥६२॥

''यज्ञानां जपयज्ञोऽस्मीति'' **भगवद्गीता**[21] ॥६३॥ **वेदान्तसारे**[22] ''तपसा कल्मषं हन्ति, विद्ययाऽमृतमश्नुते''॥ विद्यया श्रीविद्यया ॥६४॥

तथा च **श्रुतिः** -

''श्रीमत्त्रिपुरसुन्दरीं यो वेत्ति । स ब्रह्म भवति स ब्रह्म भवति स ब्रह्म भवति''॥६६॥

स्कान्दे -

F15b ''यथा माता स्वपुत्रस्य सत्यमेवाभि*भाषते ।
तथा सर्वजनस्यापि सत्यं वदति.....[23] [वे श्रुतिः] - इति ॥६७॥

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20. A different version of the quotation found in **Bhāgawatapurāṇa.**
Skanda - 11, *Adh.* - 27, p. 688, Ed. by Jyestharama Shastri, Vidyanidhi Trust, Nadiyad - 1998.
वैदिकस्तान्त्रिको मिश्र इति मे त्रिविधो मखः ।
त्रयाणामीप्सितेनैव विधिना मां समर्चयेत् ॥७॥
21. **श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता,** गीताप्रेस, गोरखपुर, 1998 *Adh.* 10, *Śloka* 25b, p. 133.
22. **वेदान्तसार,** only तपसा कल्मषं हन्ति (**मनु.**/12/104) ॥१३॥ p. 7
23. ..... Words missing

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अवैदिकास्तु । मम श्रीगुरुसम्प्रदाय एव मुख्य इति जल्पन्ति तत्तुच्छम् । सम्प्रदायः चेद्वैदिकाद्यैः स विरुध्यते । यदि तत्सम्प्रदायाय दूरे दूरे नमो नमः । पूर्वाचारप्रमाणं चेत्तथा नेति को वदेत् ॥ ऋषयः खलु नः पूर्वास्ते सर्वे शुद्ध-वैदिकाः । ''यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठ''[24] इति कृष्णवचोबलात् शिष्टाचारो प्रमाणं चेदस्तु चेच्छुति सम्मतः ।

ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियोऽन्यो वा निःशङ्कः परिवर्जयेत् ।
देव्याराधनविध्येव श्रुत्युक्तं नित्यमाचरेत् ॥
F16a *वेदानुसारि शास्त्रोक्तं निषिद्धं न कदाचन ।
दुर्वाससो मुनेः शक्राद्गोतमस्य च शातपः ॥
विप्राणां दाक्षिणात्यानां पापोपहतचेतसाम् ॥
शिवे भस्मनिरुद्राक्षे किंचिद्धानिर्न विद्यते ।

''अवैदिके तु श्रद्धा स्याच्छापदग्धस्य पापिनः'' ॥६८॥

बृहतन्त्रराजे -

''राशक्तिरिति विख्यातः मशिवः परिकीर्तितः ।
शिवशक्त्यात्मकं ब्रह्म रामरामेति गीयते ॥६९॥

नमः .....स्थे शिवसति नमः श्रीपुरगते नमः ।
पद्माख्यां कुनु(मु)कि(दी)नी नमः सन्मणिगृहे ।
F16b नमः श्रीस्थेऽखिलम*पि नमो बिन्दुनिलये ।
नमः कामैशाङ्कास्थितमति नमस्ते बललि ..... ।

इति **श्रीश्रुतिस्मृतिमतप्रमाणपारावारपारीण सर्वतन्त्रदक्षिणाचारतन्त्रधुरीण श्रीमद्दक्षिणा-मूर्तिचरणारविन्दमिलिन्देन श्रीजयरामभट्टभग(डा)त्मज[काशी]नाथेन विरजि(चि)तं वामाचारमतखण्डनं समाप्तम् ॥**

शुभं भवतु ॥

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24. **श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता,** गीताप्रेस, गोरखपुर, 1998 *Adh.* 3, *Śloka* 21, p. 64.

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OBSERVANCE OF AGREEMENT AND BRAHMBHATT CASTE
(A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE)

K.C. BAROT*

India is known in the world for her Cultural and Social diversities. The most conspicuous feature of her social characteristics is the caste system prevailing in the country.

It is for this reason that a Marxist historian Irfan Habib, has noted that: "Caste is the most characteristic and many would say, unique - social Institution of India. No interpretation of our history and culture can demand a hearing unless it encompasses the caste system."[1] We shall discuss some of the distinguishing peculiarities of the Brahmbhatt (Barot) caste in Gujarat in this article.

Cultural contributions of the Brahmbhatt caste are well recorded since ancient times in the Gujarat region. The caste has been noted by the rulers, merchants and the commoners. Besides being the authors of the traditional literature and history, during unsettled situations, when people were harassed by the highwaymen (*thugs-Pindharas*), and dacoits, this caste was considered to be trustworthy and influential in the matters of agreement. The members of the Brahmbhatt caste mediated between the Britishers and the native rulers, taluqdars and the common man. This paper is based itself on the notes of established scholars and archaeological material.

With the advent of British rule, India underwent a social transformation. According to Markand Mehta, it would be justifiable to say that nineteenth century was important in Gujarat from the point of view of social changes (re-construction)."[2] The British rule did not follow the ideals of Hindus like 'protector of Brahmins and of cows'. The fundamental purpose of the British rule was to drain India's wealth and take it to their country. Under such circumstances i.e., 1818 A.D. onwards, the British Empire was largely affected not

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1. Habib Irfan, *'Essays in Indian History'*, New Delhi, 2000 p. 161.
2. Mehta, Makrand, *'The Social Change and the Untouchables of Gujarat - 19th Century'*, Feb 1986, p-5.

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only in Gujarat but in the whole of India. Absolute change in the administrative system was clearly visible. As a result, certain prominent groups originated at the dawn of the nineteenth century and they not only availed the opportunity but also strengthened their power. Not only this but on account of their experiences and also being nearer the ruling power and at the same time having command over English language, such influential groups established themselves in administrative and social ranks. Thus, they made an impact in the era of modernization of administration. In fact, the administration of the British could become free from constraint as these groups were given honour and status. The Brahmbhatt caste was one such influential caste that became absolutely essential to the Britishers. The British were ignorant of the fact. So the British rulers at their initial stage accepted this caste, to facilitate the administration and to make it proper and modern. In fact, even before the advent of the British, the Brahmbhatt caste was highly respected in comparison to the other caste"[3]. As a result, they were used as mediators in matters of private agreements as well as in the Government revenue and independent agreements, the evidences of which are available in history. Let's have a look at an illustration in this context in 'Mahikantha Directory'. Barot Shalamsang Gumansang signed an agreement to Gaikward Government in 1808 A.D. "I, Shalamsang, hereby to be a witness on my own of Chauhan Bhathiji Galaji of Amliasan, forever and he and his people, his brothers and subjects take the responsibility of theft or strife. Bhathiji will abide by this condition and if a bailiff (*Mausam*) is to be appointed the expenditure will be borne by him."

Signature : Shalamsang Gumansang Barot, Kapadwanj

Witness : Ramsnaji Fatehsangji, Prince of Aaglod

True Copy : J.R. Carned, First Assit, 8 Oct. 1808 A.D. on the stamp of Shri Anandrao Gaikwad.[4]

This agreement testifies that the British at the initial stage had to resort to the custom of witness by Brahmbhatt caste to escape from the harassment of the anti-social elements. According to A.M. Shah and R.R. Shroff, Brahmbhatts have been involving themselves in such customs since the thirteenth century. They used to be witness to the agreement to good conduct as well as rendered the services to the traders and tourists as guide. These writers have noted that "by keeping these people in their caravan, their employers became

3. Enthovan R.C, *'Tribes and Caste of Bombay Province'*, 1920, p.-124.

4. Shah Damodardas R, *'Mahikantha Directory'*, Ahmedabad 1950, pp. 62-63.

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free from the fear of the dacoits and robbers''[5]. According to such similar note, ''Brahmbhatts put their lives at stake in order to release the people from the oppression of these dacoits.''[6] There is a note in Archives-Revenue of Maharashtra State in this context: ''Prior to the nineteenth century, such security was an important part of the traders of Gujarat. For such services rendered Brahmbhatts were paid adequately keeping in view the risk taken''[7].

When the Marathas were in power, this system was encouraged and thus maintained. The British scholar Colonel Todd supports this view and says ''Barots were the guides of the pilgrims and whenever anyone tried to loot them, they committed self-immolation'' (*Traga*)[8]. As witness to such occasions, one can find *Palias* (stones erected as memorials) at the outskirts of many villages of Saurashtra-Gujarat. One national poet (*Rastriya Shayar*) Zaverachand Meghani has taken a proper note of it. Bombay - Gazeteer also records that there have been many stone memoirals erected in the memory of these people (Brahmbhatts) at the outskirt of almost all these villages, who sacrificed their lives even in protecting the cattle from the robbers''[9]. That is why Shah and Shroff have noted down: ''Brahmbhatts, being sons of deity (*Devī-putra*), were considered pious and their sacrifices never went in vain. Forcing them to adopt such an act was punished by deities and they met with absolute destruction, such was the belief prevalent all around''[10]. Thus, on seeing their pious duty to abide by the agreement being violated, they committed self-immolation. Their willingness to self-immolation was the main basis of the custom. Generally, such mediators (Brahmbhatts) would cut a wound on their body or on the body of their close relative and spinkle the blood on the person, who failed to abide by the agreement or violated the status of a witness. The sprinkling of the blood was considered to be ill-omen. The British traveler and the supervisor Mac Murado has noted in his Traveler's Diary: ''Those who have been understanding the responsibility, their hands below the elbow are full of scars''. He further mentions that ''at one occasion, I have witnessed four Barots,

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5. Shah A.M. and Shroff R.G. *'The Vahivancha Barots of Gujarat'*, (Milton Singer - Editor, Traditional India, Structure and Change Philadelphia, 1959, p. - 44-45.
6. *'Brahmbhatt Yuvak'*, Silver Jubilee, Ahmedabad, 1965, p.-45.
7. *'Maharashtra State Archaeological and Revenue Department Diary'*, 47-16217, Walker to Grant, 3rd May 1804.
8. Col. Todd James *'Annals of Rajasthan ----- '*, London, 1829 - 32, p-500.
9. Bombay Gazetteer-Vol - IX, Part I, p-218.
10. Shah and Shroff, *'The Vahivancha Barots of Gujarat'*, p-45.

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pierced in one arrow and their clothes fully soaked in oil, filled with cotton, going to the convict and setting themselves on fire burnt to ashes"[11]. Thus, custom of self-immolation was known as custom of '*Telia*'. Such similar incidents are available in the Folk literature. Moreover, on many occasions, they resorted to hunger strike (*langhan*). Being on hunger strike, if some Brahmbhatt died, the person who violated the agreement would be frightened of the deity's wrath. As a result, in a society devoid of courts, the mediation and witnessing of a Brahmbhatt was unavoidable for day-to-day transactions and other bargaining related to transfer of property and in trade. Among the common man, the traders and even for the kings, the mediation of the Brahmbhatt was essential for any agreement. Thus, right from sixteenth century, the Brahmbhatts were there as mediators for the collection of revenue"[12]. During later part of Mughals and the early period of the British rule, the revenue was collected from the farmers through the central Institutions and out of the same, a particular amount was paid to the Government. This system was the same as that of the Louis rulers of France who monopolized the collection of the revenue. Even on such agreements the custom of witnessing had been prevalent since 1816"[13].

Archibald Robertson, the Assistant Collector of Kheda District, had noted: "Brahmbhatts have been logical and particular about the observance of their duty with subtlety. Nevertheless, no Hindu would like to be blamed for the self-immolation of a Brahmbhatt on account of breach of agreement"[14]. That is why A.K. Forbes has mentioned in his '*Rasmala*': "People, who were otherwise not afraid of any one, maintained the respect of Barots, being the sons of deities. They also had the skills to make the person follow the wordings of the agreement and they hardly failed in their efforts. Self-immolation and hunger strike were their two great weapons. If a man agrees to abide by the agreement, then and only then he would be free from the agreement"[15]. The chief Justice of Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad, Govindbhai Hathibhai Desai also supports this fact in his book '*Kadi Prant Sarvasangraha*'.

According to the note of Collector of Bharuch: "Instead of being blamed for the

11. Macmurdo James, *'An Account of the Province of Kutchh and Countries Lying between Gujarat and River Indus'*, Bombay 1920, p-233.
12. Bombay Gazetter, *'Vahivancha Barots of Gujarat'*, p-92.
13. *Ibid.*, p-92.
14. M.R.D.D. 46-1208, Robertson to Walker, July 1804, p-280.
15. A.K. Forbes, *'Rasmala'* (History of Gujarat) Part II, A'bad, 1899, p-315.

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death of a Brahmbhatt by way of self-immolation, any indebted person would like to give away everything than to allow an innocent Barot to die at his doorstep''[16]. Thus, Brahmbhatt's mediation had become an inseparable part for observance of the agreement. Hence, Macmerdo mentions that "Such a God-fearing pressure was very effective in the society of the time. Moreover, to prove the agreement to be authentic, the seal of dagger of Brahmbhatt was sufficient to prove the authenticity of the agreement''[17].

Looking to the different illustrations and the opinions of various well-known critics, it seems that at the initial stage of the British rule, where there was absence of tradition of the court, this Brahmbhatt custom of observance of the agreement had a distinguished place in the society. Due to instability of the state power, it was difficult to say as to when and who would seize the power. That was to an age of 'Might is Right'. During this period, it was rather uncertain to make one abide by agreement. Under such circumstances, it was difficult to trust someone for the observance of the written documents and agreements. The Brahmbhatt caste had preserved these customs of sacrificing their lives or that of these dear ones for the observance of the agreement. This is worth noting. Moreover, it was essential that the mediator between the kings and the businessmen be a strong and reputed person. It was not an easy task, it was rather beyond the reach of an ordinary person to force the party to observe the terms of the agreement[18].

The Brahmbhatts first persuaded the kings who were not ready to observe the terms of the agreement or were reluctant to do so, to adopt the weapon of insistence of truth (*Satyāgraha*), hunger strike or at last self immolate their lives. Thereafter, any king would be ready to abide by this tradition. The incident of Idar, in this context, is well known in history. Besides, such occasions, wherein the observance of terms were ensured through such self-immolations are available. History is replete with such leading customs[19].

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16. Bombay Sales 39, P.T 131 Digal to Walker, 10th May 1804.
17. Macmurdo James, *'Remarks of the Province of Kathiyawar, its Inhabitance Their Manners and Customs'*, Bombay, 1829, p-282.
18. Barot, K.C. *'Brahmbhatt Samita'*, Ahmedabad 1996, p-76.
19. *'Rasmala'*, *'Jamin-Jagir No Bhomiyo'*, *'Annals of Rajasthan'*, *'Bharat Rajyamandal'* and Folklore literature of Zaverchand Meghani - are the testimony to such customs.

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૩૭૯	**સ્વાધ્યાયસૂચિ (પુસ્તક ૧-૨૫)** – જયંત ઉમરેઠિયા (૨૦૦૭) [પ્રેસમાં]	-

પ્રાપ્તિસ્થાન : **યુનિવર્સિટી પુસ્તકવેચાણ વિભાગ,**
પ્રો. સી.સી. મહેતા ઑડિટોરિયમ, જનરલ એજ્યુકેશન સેન્ટર સામે,
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SUDĀMACARITAM OF PUṆḌARĪKĀKṢA MIŚRA : A STUDY

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I. Introduction

Sudāmā, a poor Brahmin of Dwāpara age, who has occupied an important place in the literary history of India, is a well-known figure. His unique character, simplicity, innocence, dedication, devotion and religious attitude have attracted the attention of many Sanskrit poets who have written small as well as big poems on his life. The *Bhāgavata-Mahāpurāṇa* is the first poem which has nicely depicted the character and personality of Sudāmā.

The *Sudāmacaritam*[1] of Puṇḍarīkākṣa Miśra is an interesting *khaṇḍakāvya* in Sanskrit. As the title denotes, the poem deals with the well-known Sudāmā who had the fortune of having an intimate friendship with the Lord Kṛṣṇa. Though the small episode of Sudāmā does not give much scope to compose an epic poem still the Sanskrit poets have attempted to compose *mahākāvyas* and *khaṇḍakāvyas* on this popular theme. I have been able to collect four poems on this theme.[2] Miśra's work distinguishes itself from its counterparts for the reason that the poet has treated the theme in a beautiful and interesting manner for the glorification of the relationship between Lord Kṛṣṇa and his devotee Sudāmā.

The poem contains only five cantos, bearing significant titles which indicate the subject-matter of the cantos in an aphoristic manner and are given at the end of the cantos. There are 500 verses (80 in first, 94 in second, 84 in third, 112 in fourth and 130 in the

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1. *Sudāmacaritam* of Paṇḍita Puṇḍarīkākṣa Miśra, Lokabhāṣā-Pracāra-Samiti, Puri, Orissa, Date of Publication is not given.
2. I. *Sudāmacaritam* of Paṇḍita Bahora Pathak (*Mahākāvya*), Ed. Gopabandhu Mishra, Sanskṛita Prasāra-Pariṣad, Ara, Bihar, 1997
   II. *Sudāmacaritam* of Śrīsālirāmacandra Ray, Sanskriti Prakashan, Dharwad, 1957
   III. *Sudāmacaritam* of Indradeva Dwivedi, (*Mahākāvya*).
   IV. Refer to Footnote 1.

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fifth). The theme of the poem is taken from the *Bhāgavata-Mahāpurāṇa*. The poet has given the form of a poem to a simple story by making some innovations for the purpose of making it interesting and enjoyable. He has tried in this poem to bring to the notice of the readers the ultimate aim of an ardent devotee and the fruit of his sincere devotion. The objective of the poet is to make people aware of the noble character of Sudāmā, a simple house-holder who inspite of his extreme poverty and noble conduct could achieve the love and compassion of the lord of universe while great yogis, *sādhaka*s, wise and enlightened ones fail. The poem commences and completes with the prayer to the Lord Jagannātha.[3]

II. Author

The author of this poem is Paṇḍita Puṇḍarīkākṣa Miśra (1918-1987), who was born on 18-3-1918 in the village of Jayarampur in the district of Bhogarai in the Balasore of Orissa. After completing his primary education in his own village, he went to Udayanath Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya for his study and then to Bhogarai Shyamasundar Sanskrit college at Kanitara, West Bengal and passed *Sāhityācārya* in 1939 from Utkal Sanskrit Samiti with the first class. He served as a teacher in Jagadeshwara Sanskrit school at Khuluda only for eleven months and then became the head of the department in Bhogarai Syamasundar Sanskrit college in 1940. He became the Principal of that college and retired from his service in 1982. He served as Honorary Professor in the department of *Sāhitya* in Śrī Jagannātha Sanskrit University, Puri, Orissa from 1982 to 1987. He had been awarded with a number of prizes for his valuable service to Sanskrit literature but among them the President's certificate of honour is the most important one. This eminent scholar passed away on 9-7-1987 but he has left behind some immortal works which speak of his dedication and devotion for Sanskrit language and literature.

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3. (a) स्मरन् जगन्नाथपदाम्बुजद्वयं
लिखामि किञ्चिच्चरितं मनोरमम् ।
इदं सुदाम्नो भगवद्गुणावली-
विमोहितस्यात्र विशुद्धचेतसः ॥ I.1, p.1

(b) श्रीमज्जगन्नाथपदारविन्दे
स्मृत्वा सतां ब्राह्मणपण्डितानाम् ।
शुभाशिषश्चास्य मया सुदाम्नः
भक्तस्य वृत्तं निखिलं समाप्तम् ॥ V. 30, p. 101

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III. Summary

The first canto of the poem is entitled *Dāridryavarṇanam* (description of the poverty). In this canto, the poet describes the extreme poverty of Sudāmā, his single-minded devotion for the Lord, his begging, Sumati's dedicated service and their peace and satisfaction in the family.

The second canto is entitled *Dwārikāgamanam.* In this canto, there is a description of Sudāmā who remembers the name of Hari at early morning, goes for the collection of flowers for the worship of the lord, eats food prepared by her loving wife Sumati out of the old stock of savings of alms, goes for begging. Sudāmā comes back with frustration without getting anything, informs about the non-availability of alms in the village and listens the pathetic words of Sumati who inspires him to go to Kṛṣṇa, the lord of Vaikuṇṭha as he was his childhood friend and studying with him in Sāndipani's residence. But Sudāmā does not get ready to meet Kṛṣṇa with the view that Kṛṣṇa is a king and he may not care for a poor fellow. Finally, Sudāmā gets ready to go to Dwarika, the place of the Lord Kṛṣṇa.

The third canto is entitled *Haripurapraveśa.* It gives a picture of Sudāmā's difficulty on the way of his going to Dwarika. First he comes across a river on the way, where he does not get a boat to cross the river. After some time, an old man comes with a broken boat and is not ready to take him up but after a humble request he finally agrees. The wind becomes silent. The boat does not meet any kind of misfortune and he reaches the bank of the river safely. By saying politely to boatman that he had no money to pay and promising that he will pay all his dues at the time of his return, Sudāmā proceeds towards Dwarika. On the way, he enters into a dense forest, where three thieves come and snatch away that bundle of rice and throw it on earth. Sudāmā does not lose heart and proceeds further uttering the name of Hari and finally reaches the place of his destination. There he asks the guards about the right way to go to the capital city of Kṛṣṇa. He is guided in the right direction by the guards, who just laugh at him without giving any sense of respect and importance.

The fourth canto entitled *Śrīkṛṣṇadarśanam* describes that Kṛṣṇa the omniscient one came to know about the coming of his best friend Sudāmā. He immediately calls on his servants and Satyabhāmā, his wife and informs them that he had a very good time because his best friend Sudāmā has come to meet him. He also orders them to be ready for his proper hospitality. By saying this, Kṛṣṇa himself proceeds to receive and welcome Sudāmā.

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He embraces him closely with profound love and affection.

The fifth canto is not given any title. It describes how seriously Kṛṣṇa, the lord of the universe thought about his problem of poverty after the departure of Sudāmā who did not ask him for anything. Then Kṛṣṇa called on Lakṣmī and requested her to make Sudāmā free from his miserable condition. Lakṣmī carried on her duty accordingly. Sudāmā reached his village and became surprised to see a big bungalow in place of his small cottage made of leaves. Sumati was made known about the arrival of Sudāmā. She washed and prayed on the feet of Sudāmā with great reverence. But Sudāmā did not recognize her and asked about her introduction. Sumati convinced him that she is his wife. She narrated the incident that in the absence of him she did not find the way of survival. So she went to the river for suicide. But at the time of attempting suicide, a man informed her about his coming. So, she left the idea and came to see him but was surprised to see this change. After knowing all these from Sumati, Sudāmā still didn't take any interest in all those precious things. At that time, Kṛṣṇa himself came there with his consort Lakṣmī and told him to enjoy the things given to him and to come to Vaikuṇṭha, when the time of his life will be over in the mortal world.

IV. Story in the Source

The theme of the poem is taken from the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, where the story is given as follows:

Śrīkṛṣṇa had a Brahmin friend, who was conversant with the knowledge of Vedas. That Brahmin was not attached to the objects of the sense and was of peaceful soul. Betaking to a householder's mode of existence, this Brahmin's wife was emaciated with hunger.[4] One day that pious lady devoted to her poor husband approaching him with a

4. कृष्णस्यासीत्सखा कश्चिद्ब्राह्मणो ब्रह्मवित्तमः ।
विरक्त इन्द्रियार्थेषु प्रशान्तात्मा जितेन्द्रियः ॥
यदृच्छयोपपन्नेन वर्तमानो गृहाश्रमी ।
तस्य भार्या कुचैलस्य क्षुत्क्षामा च तथाविधा ॥
पतिव्रता पतिं प्राह म्लायता वदनेन सा ।
दरिद्रा सीदमाना सा वेपमानाभिगम्य च ॥
ननु ब्रह्मन्भगवतः सखा साक्षाच्छ्रियः पतिः ।
ब्रह्मण्यश्च शरण्यश्च भगवान्सात्वतर्षभः ॥

Bhāgavatapurāṇa, X.79; 6, 7, 8, 9

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haggard countenance, said, "I am sinking and my limbs are trembling. I heard that the Almighty Lord is your intimate friend. Go to that Lord who is the best refuge of the pious people. He shall give an abundance of wealth to you". Śrīdāmā then made up his mind to go to Dwarika. He spoke to his wife as follows-"O blessed lady! Have you got in the house anything worthy of presentation to Kṛṣṇa? If so, let me have it. Thereupon, soliciting from the brahmins four handfuls of flattened rice, she bound them in a piece of cloth and gave the bundle to her husband as a present for Kṛṣṇa. Having taken the bundle of flattened rice for presentation to Kṛṣṇa, Sudāmā started for Dwarika, and anxiously meditated in his mind on the way as to how he should have a sight of Kṛṣṇa.[5]

However, Śrīdāmā arrived at the city of Dwarika and having passed by three barracks of soldiers and having crossed three high-ways crowded with Brahmins, Śrīdāmā went near the places of the Andhakas and Vṛṣṇis whose lord was Acyuta. Then Śrīdāmā, entered a residence out of the sixteen thousand residences of the queens of Śrīhari. Entering the precincts of the residence, the Brahmin seemed to enjoy the ecstasy of realizing Brahma. Acyuta, who was lying on the bed of his dear beloved wife, having seen Śrīdāmā from a distance hurriedly rose up from the bed, and coming near to him, delightfully embraced him with his two arms. Having touched the body of his dear friend, Acyuta was highly enraptured, and tears of joy began to flow from his lotus-like eyes.[6] Thereafter Śrīdāmā took his seat on his bed, Kṛṣṇa himself collected the things for the adoration of Śrīdāmā and washed his feet with water, took the water with which the feet of his friend has been washed on his head. He then smeared the Brahmin with heavenly perfumes, sandal paste and saffron. Thus delightfully worshipping his friend with incense and rows of lamps, Kṛṣṇa offered him betel, and then asked him the question regarding his welfare.

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5. अप्यस्त्युपायनं किंचिद्गृहे कल्याणि दीयताम् ।
याचित्वा चतुरो मुष्टीन्विप्रान्पृथुकतण्डुलान् ।
चैलखण्डेन तान्बद्ध्वा भर्त्रे प्रादादुपायनम् ॥
स तानादाय विप्रात्मजः प्रययौ द्वारिकां किल ।
कृष्णसंदर्शनं मह्यं कथं स्यादिति चिन्तयन् ॥
Ibid., 13, 14, 15

6. तं विलोक्याच्युतो दूरात्प्रियापर्यङ्कमास्थितः ।
सहसोत्थाय चाभ्येत्य दोर्भ्यां पर्यग्रहीन्मुदा ॥
सख्युः प्रियस्य विप्रर्षेरङ्गसङ्गातिनिर्वृतः ।
प्रीतो व्यमुञ्चयन्बिन्दूनेत्राभ्यां पुष्करेक्षणः ॥ *Ibid.*, 18, 19

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Then the queen herself with her maids began to serve Sudāmā by way of fanning him, who was clad in tattered rags emaciated and lean. Thereupon the members of the seraglio seeing this unclean Brahmin, appearing like an *Avadhūta*, so delightfully welcomed and adored by Kṛṣṇa of unsullied renown, were struck with wonder. Thereafter having held one another by the palm of their hands, Kṛṣṇa and Sudāmā began to talk about those sweet adventures of their childhood, when they lived together in the family of their spiritual preceptor. The Lord Kṛṣṇa said that he was versed in all righteousness. Having come back from the family of the preceptor, to whom he did pay a handsome fee, he has married to a wife worthy of himself. Though he is constantly leading a householder's mode of life, yet his heart is not enslaved by selfish desires, and he is not attached to riches, materials and money.

Śrīkṛṣṇa reminded him of an interesting incident that had happened in past when both of them were staying in preceptor's residence. They had gone to fetch some fuel sticks. Suddenly storm came and heavy shower of rain fell. The sun got set in the sky, and immediately the cardinal quarters were pervaded with deep gloom; the ground get deluged with water and they could not discern anything. During that heavy pouring of rain, they were sorely struck with drops of rain and were driven by strong gusts of wind, then failing to discern the direction to be followed, and being sorely oppressed; they wandered there holding each other by the hands. Coming to know their miserable condition, the preceptor Sāndīpani went out in quest of them before the rising of the sun. Then the preceptor found them in that miserable plight. He told "For my sake you both have undergone great misery. Life is very dear unto created beings, and you have disregarded that life for me. In this manner good disciples should pay their debt of gratitude to their preceptors with a pious intention. May your desires be fulfilled? Your knowledge of the Vedas will not waste away in this or in the next world". Then Kṛṣṇa asked: "What present have you brought for me from your house? Even very small particle of food collected by my devotee out of affection, becomes sufficient for him. On the contrary abundance of eatable gathered by men having no reverence for me is useless." So spoken to by Śrīkṛṣṇa, out of bashfulness Śrīdāmā did not offer those four handfuls of flattened rice to the lord of the universe. Then Śrīkṛṣṇa himself took out the said bundle of flattened rice from the ends of the tattered cloth of Śrīdāmā. Seeing the contents of the bundle Śrīkṛṣṇa became very much pleased and ate one handful of rice. When he was on the point of taking another handful to his mouth, the goddess of prosperity swiftly caught the hand of the Supreme Lord. That night Śrīdāmā lived in that residence of Kṛṣṇa and there eating and drinking

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palatable dishes and potions, he was overjoyed and thought himself transported to heaven. At the break of the following day, Śrīdāmā started for his own home, having been greeted by his friend. When proceeding on his way back to his home, Sudāmā was enraptured on remembering his meeting with Kṛṣṇa. He did not get any wealth from his friend. But, he was very happy with the treatment of Kṛṣṇa. He came to proximity of his own house, which to his surprise found to be surrounded on all sides by chariots resplendent like the sun, the fire and the moon. He found it furnished with beautiful pleasure gardens and groves, swarming with melodious singing birds, and with expanses of water with decorated blooming lotuses and lilies. Beholding his own house crowded with persons decked with ornaments and, women having eyes resembling those of a gazelle, Sudāmā was astonished beyond measure to see the thatched cottage becoming so metamorphosed into this extensive and beautiful place all around. When Śrīdāmā has been thus revolving in his mind, persons of both sexes as beautiful as celestials, came out of the palace and welcomed him with songs accompanied by musical sound of various instruments. Having heard that her husband has come back, his wife Sumati became transported with joy, and hurriedly came out of the house like the goddess of prosperity incarnate is coming out of her own abode. Beholding her husband, she began to shed tears of joy and her voice was choked with profound emotion. Then considering her husband to be one, worthy of her adoration, she bowed down unto him and embraced him with her eyes closed. Having seen his loving wife like heavenly goddess, shine in the midst of maidservants and decorated with necklaces of gold, Śrīdāmā was struck with great amazement. He was overwhelmed with joy and entered his own house, which was furnished with hundreds of pillars made of jewels like an abode of the celestial king. His heart was full of joy. He began to enjoy those luxuries with his wife but his heart was not very much attached to those enjoyments. He gradually liberated himself from the material influence and at the end of his life attained to the status of the lord.

V. Critical Appreciation

The poem is composed in five cantos which bear significant titles. They are of moderate length; the shortest is of 80 verses and the longest of 130 verses. There are 500 verses in all. The significant features of this work are given below:

(a) Characterization:

In this poem, there are only three main characters namely Sudāmā, Sumati and Kṛṣṇa. There are other minor characters like a boatman, thieves, Satyabhāmā and Lakṣmī.

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We find them very natural in their worldly life and accept the truth of life. Sudāmā is a man of extreme simplicity, patience, strong determination, single-minded devotion, truth and righteousness. Though very poor, he is very happy. He is represented in the poem as a man who completely surrenders everything to god and satisfies himself with the thing he gets without deliberate effort.[7] Though his friend is the Lord of the universe, he does not take any interest in approaching him for wealth and prosperity. His best quality is his strong faith in God. He is a fatalist. But he does his action without desiring anything as directed in the *Bhagavadgītā, karmaṇyevādhikāraste mā phaleṣu kadācana.*

Sumati, his wife, is equally simple, devoted and dutiful. The service of husband according to her is the best duty of a wife. She is a woman of strong determination and noble character[8]. She is very good by heart and intelligent. Kṛṣṇa, the God of the universe, is represented as *Bhaktavatsala.* He has great love for his devotees.

(b) *Rasa:*

The sentiment of this *kāvya* is *Śānta.* As the poem deals with the story of Kṛṣṇa other sentiments do not find any place in this poem. Even the *śāntarasa* does not find fullest exposition. But different emotions are nicely depicted.

(c) Metres:

The poet employs one metre in one canto with a variation at the end. A metrewise break-up of the poem is presented below:

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7. अकिञ्चनः सन् न मुखेन याचते
धनं प्रदेहीति वचो न भाषते ।
न वाधिकं कामयते महाजने
प्रफुल्लचित्तो विचरत्यसौ सदा ॥ *Sudāmacarita* I. 40, p. 8

8. (a) मनोरमेयं बत तैलवर्जिता
नितान्तहीनाभरणा सती सती ।
निजोपभोगै रहिता दिवानिशं
कदोपवासेन दिनान्ययापयत् ॥
(b) प्रियस्य सौख्यात् सुखिनी भवत्यसौ
तदीयदुःखान्नितराञ्च दूयते ।
स्वकीयकष्टं प्रतिवेशिनः कदा
न वक्ति सा भावरता भ्रमादपि ॥ *Ibid.*, I. 16 & 19, p. 4

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Canto Nos.	Metre
1	*Upendravajrā*
2	*Upajāti*
3	*Vasantatilakā*
4	*Upajāti*
5	*Upendravajrā*

Besides, in the closing verses of cantos, *Sragdharā, Vasantatilakā, Vaṁśastha* and *Upajāti* metres are used.

(d) Figures of speech:

Paṇḍita Miśra follows the *Vaidarbhī* style. He avoids the use of long compounds. His style is easy and elegant. Sweet composition and clear expression of thought are the special characteristics of his presentation which give a reflection of his personality. The clarity of thought is clearly seen in the verses of his composition resulting in the clear picture of simplicity and devotion. His diction is refined and beautiful. He is very natural in his description without any kind of verbal jugglery[9]. His language is simple and sweet. Even an average scholar of Sanskrit will not find any difficulty in understanding and enjoying the poetic beauty of his poem.

(e) Pithy & Epigrammatic Sayings:

The poet gives us a good number of pithy and epigrammatic sayings which stress mainly the moral values. A few of them are reproduced by way of specimens.[10]

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9. पद्मिन्या विरहावसाननिपुणः सूर्यो महान् नायकः
पूर्वोर्वीधरमागतो विधिवशादेतौ पुनर्हृष्टवान्।
दूरीकर्तुमयं जनस्य विपदं शक्तो न वा वर्तते
मित्रत्वं परिरक्षितुं प्रकटितं किं स्वागतो दूरतः ॥
Ibid., I. 80, p. 16

10. (a) लभे न लज्जां सुमणेः समाश्रया-
ल्लघुर्हि काचः श्रयते परां द्युतिम्। *Ibid.*, I. 6

(b) सुखेषु दुःखेषु च तुल्यमानिता।
सतां जनानां भवतीह सर्वदा ॥ *Ibid.*, I. 13

(c) सतां हि निष्ठा परमं धनं स्मृतम्। *Ibid.*, I. 41

(d) दरिद्रता सद्गुणमण्डिते जने
स्थितापि सम्मानधनं हि रक्षति ॥ *Ibid.*, I. 42

(e) एको दरिद्रोऽस्त्यपरश्च राजा
विधेर्विधानं न विवेचनीयम् ॥ *Ibid.*, I: 43

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(f) Poet's learning:

The poet has good command over the grammar also. He is well-acquainted with the Purāṇa literature especially the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*.

(g) Innovation:

Though our poet has mainly taken the story from the *Bhāgavata*, he has made necessary innovations to make his poem interesting. He has given both the names but in the *Bhāgavata* hero's name is given as Śrīdāmā. He has introduced some of the episodes of boatman, presence of the thieves on the way and their threatening etc. which are not given in the original story of *Bhāgavata*. The poet has also introduced the episode of leper who was bitten by his wife. He at many places follows the *Bhāgavata* line of presentation and drops the lengthy dialogue of Kṛṣṇa that he had with Sudāmā.

VI. Conclusion

The present poem belongs to the category of mythological poems. The hero of the poem is Sudāmā and the title of poem is given after the name of its hero. It centres around a minor plot of Sudāmā's sincere devotion and Kṛṣṇa's great love for his devotee. Though in the second page, it is written that *Sudāmacaritam* is a *Mahākāvya*, the structure of this poem does not fit perfectly to the structure of a *Mahākāvya*. There are many things the poem lacks. It does not follow the definition of the *Mahākāvya* as given by Viśvanātha Kavirāja in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. There is no doubt about the fact that Paṇḍita Miśra has infact made a small but valuable contribution to the field of modern Sanskrit literature.

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THE STUDY OF SANSKRIT BY WESTERN SCHOLARS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: ITS IMPACT ON INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

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A historian while peeping into the past not only comments on the bygone ages but also reflects himself and his society. Thus the historian and his writings evoke, more often than not, diverse interpretations and some times even passionate controversies. This is correct in today's time when the post-modernists seem to challenge the basic tenets of historiography, and so was it in the age of enlightenment when many positivists had debunked history as fairy tale accepted by all. However, not withstanding such paradox, history is the indispensable part of our existence. It rationalizes our existence and exhorts us to look for the future. Underlining the importance of history and thus its relevance in everyday life, historian Arthur Marwick says "It is only through knowledge of its history that a society can have knowledge of itself. As a man without memory and self knowledge is a man adrift, so a society without memory (or more correctly, without recollection) and self-knowledge would be a society adrift".[1]

History is an independent branch of learning with its own subject matter and an independent methodology could develop only in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Initially the focus of all historical studies was the Western world. But soon the Oriental world was brought within its ambit. Modern historiography, unlike its medieval counterpart, replaced metaphysics and theology by rational and scientific theories. A belief in the dignity of man and his capacity to develop catapulted man to the centre of all discourses. It was assumed by many that without taking into account the ancient civilizations of the East, human evolution could not be explained correctly. Besides, the compulsions of imperialism which called for a proper understanding of their colonies so that their hegemony remained intact, gave the impetus to many scholars, travelers, officials and missionaries to study Sanskrit and unravel the past of India. Pronouncing the relevance of Sanskrit to understand the present world, Max Muller says "*Vedic* period, deserves

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1. Marwick, Arthur, *The Nature of History;* London, 1970, p. 13.

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the careful attention, not of oriental scholars only, but of every educated man and woman who wishes to know how we, even we here in England and in this nineteenth century of ours, came to be what we are".[2] Similarly Winternitz writes "if we want to understand the beginnings of our own culture, of the oldest Indo-Germanic culture, then we must go to India, where the oldest literature of an Indo-Germanic folk is preserved".[3]

Inspite of the fact that, by the middle of the nineteenth century, German Indologists outnumbered their other European counterparts, the process of studying the past of India was initiated by the Britishers in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Having entrenched themselves, by that time, on the larger part of India it was natural on the part of Britishers to know the culture and tradition of India so that their hegemony could be sustained. There is no denying the fact that the comprehensive exploitation of Indian resources and converting India into a market for British capitalism were compelling reasons but the inquisitive human urge, and that also in the age of science, might have also prodded some intellectuals to unravel the past of India. Moreover, evangelicals dreamt of spreading Christianity which on its part could have been facilitated by a proper awareness of India's past and its tradition.

The initial stimulus for the study and translation of ancient Indian literature was provided by Governor-General Warren Hastings when, in 1772, he took a decision that native scholars should be present during court proceedings so that the English judges might pay due attention to the paragraphs of Indian books of law while pronouncing judgments. These opinions by *Pandits* regarding the ancient laws of Hindu were compiled in a book entiled *'Vivādārnavasetu'* (Bridge to cross the ocean of disputes). Charles Wilkins, being encouraged by Warren Hastings, was the first Englishman who acquired the knowledge of Sanskrit. His translation of *Bhagavadgītā* in 1785 proved to be the first successful attempt when a Sanskrit work was translated directly into English. Prior to this, the Sanskrit Works would first be translated into Persian and it was from Persian only that their English version could follow. However, it was William Jones, who, by establishing the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784, laid the real foundation stone of British Indology. He belonged to the group of such scholars who had a great sympathy towards Indian culture and its institutions. It is to the credit of William Jones, who, for the first time, not only pronounced the genealogical connection of Sanskrit with Greek, Latin, Germanic, Celtic

2. Muller Max, *India: What can it teach us?* p. 106.

3. Winternitz, M., *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, p. 5.

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and Persian, but, also pointed out the similarities of ancient Indian and Greco-Roman mythology. Through his writings and speeches, William Jones provided the framework for the textual and inscriptional study which resulted into a better understanding of ancient Indian chronology and the socio-political evolution. The Asiatic Society of Bengal indulged in translating and editing important Sanskrit works like *Śākuntala* in 1789 and *Ṛtusaṁhāra* in 1792. Regarding the polity of Ancient India, William Jones' translation into English of the law book of Manu, with the title *"Institute of Hindu Law"* proved to be an important step.

When W. Jones passed away in 1794, Colebrooke took over the translation of the teachings of Indian Law Books on the laws of succession and contracts. This appeared in 1797-98 under the title *'A Digest of Hindu Law on contracts and succession'*. In addition to many law books, he wrote some pioneering essays on philosophy, religion, astronomy, grammar and arithmetic of Ancient India and also translated a number of inscriptions. Colebrooke published the *Amarakośa* and other Indian dictionaries. Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *Hitopadeśa* and ornate poems like *Kirātārjunīya*. Comparing and contrasting the importance of Jones and Colebrooke in the field of Indology, Winternitz writes "while the rapturous W. Jones inspired the others by the enthusiasm with which he brought to light many treasures of Indian literature, the sober Henry Thomas Colebrooke who continued the work of W. Jones became the real founder of Indian philology".[4]

It were the Britishers who initiated the process of studying Sanskrit, but, soon the echoes of Indology began to be heard in other parts of Europe as well. Chief among those countries (Besides Britain) where orientalism received its most fertile ground was Germany. The attitude of Germans towards India and its tradition is made clear by Max Muller's following remark, "A scholar who studies Sanskrit in Germany is supposed to be initiated in the deep and dark mysteries of ancient Wisdom, and a man who has traveled in India, even if he has only discovered Calcutta, Bombay or Madras, is listened to like another Marcopolo".[5] Analyzing the reasons for the Germans being so much attracted towards the past of India, it can be conjectured that the rise of Romanticism created a conducive atmosphere for the same. Efforts were made to pronounce the similarity between ancient Indian psyche with that of modern German attitude. Leopold V. Schroeder opines "Indians are the folk of Romanticism in ancient times. Germans are so in modern times..."[6]

4. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
5. Muller Max, *India What can it teach us?* p. 4.
6. Schroeder, V., Quoted in M. Winternitz, op.cit., p. 6.

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Poet Friedrich Schlegel was the founder of Indian philology in Germany. His book *"On the Language and Wisdom of Indians: A Contribution to the Foundation of Archaeology"*, was the first direct translation from Sanskrit into German. But it was August Wilhelm Von Schlegel (the brother of Friedrich Schlegel) who through his numerous text editions and translations widened and strengthened the base of Indian philology. Founding of the periodical *Indische Bibliothek* (in 1823) by August Wilhelm Von Schegel proved to be a great step in the development of orientalism. Bopp, Grimm, Humboldt, Roth were some other scholars who devoted themselves to the study of Indian literature.

During the first three decades of the nineteenth century, European scholars including the Germans were mainly concerned with the "Classical Sanskrit literature" of India. The drama *Śākuntala, Bhagavadgītā,* law book of Manu, collection of fables *Hitopadeśa,* and isolated works from the great epics - these were about the entire major works with which they occupied themselves. The *Vedas*, which could perhaps throw more light on the socio-cultural ethos and the political aspect of ancient India, were till 1830 virtually not studied. Though the German philosophers like Schelling and Schopenhauer began to be attracted towards *Upaniṣads* in the early decades of the nineteenth century, it was French Orientalist Eugene Burnouf who, through his work *"On the Literature and History of Veda"*, laid the foundation of the study *Veda* in Germany in early 1840s. Two of his pupils Rudolph Roth and Max Muller further extended this tradition and gave a great impetus to the field of Indology.

Perhaps, the most revered name among the early European Indologists was that of Max Muller. He had great repsect for the past of India. He underlined the importance of Oriental world, and India in particular, for a proper understanding of human evolution and progress. Max Muller observes, "And in that study of the history of the human mind, in that study of ourselves, of our true selves, India occupies a place second to no other country".[7] Calling India, 'in some parts a very paradise on earth,' Max Muller observes, "If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions of some of them which well deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant - I should point to India".[8] He also did not mince his words while criticizing scholars, like Mill. The book which I consider most mischievous, may, which I hold

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Max, *India: What can it teach us?* p. 13.

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responsible for some of the greatest misfortune that have happened to India, is Mill 's *History of British India.*[9]

Max Muller was one of the few earliest scholars, who understood the importance of Sanskrit and the *Vedas* for the proper understading of Ancient India. He edited the whole text of *'Ṛgveda'*, with the commentary of Sāyaṇa (1848), and in 1859 published his *'History of Sanskrit literature'*, in which all the Sanskrit texts known till then were mapped out in chronological order. Another outstanding achievement of Muller was the founding of the *'Sacred Books of the East'* (1875) Series, which made available in English the rich store of source materials preserved in Sanskrit literature. He further comments "It (*Vedas*) can teach us lessons which nothing else can teach, as to the origin of our own language, the first formation of our concepts and the true natural germs of all that is comprehended under the name of civilization, at least the civilization of the Aryan race, that race to which we and all the greatest nations of the world, the Hindus, the Persians, the Greeks and Romans, the Slavs, the Celts, and last not least the Teutons belong".[10]

Publication of "*Sacred Books of the East*" Series was a major step in the direction of discovering in past of India. The Series made available in English the *Vedas*, the *Upaniṣads*, the Buddhist and the Jaina Canonical works. The critical edition and translation of various *Dharma Sūtras* and *Smṛtis* proved to be of immense help in knowing the society, economy and polity of Ancient India. General evolution of these *Dharma-Sūtras* into metrical *Smṛtis*; existence of special Law schools which were devoted exclusively towards the formulation of legal tenets, and like, are discussed in introduction to the various volumes of this Series, by scholars like Max Muller, Buhler, Jolly, Eggeling. As a marked departure, it was emphasized that law schools were free from sectarian influences and the methodology employed by compilers of *Smṛtis* was critical and comparative. In place of many *Brahmanical* and mythical legends, historical and social evolution of the socio-political institutions was put forward. The Discovery of the *Dharma Sūtras*, opines Buhler, enabled Max Muller to dispose finally off the Brahmanical legend according to which "Hindu society was supposed to be governed by the Codes of ancient sages, compiled for the express purpose of tying down each individual to his station, and of strictly regulating even the smallest act of his daily life".[11]

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9. *Ibid.*, p. 39

10. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

11. Buhler G., *The Sacred Laws of the Aryas, S.B.E.*, Vol. II, Part I, p. IX.

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The *Dharma-sūtras* (Aphorisms on the Sacred Law) as taught in the schools of Āpastamba, Gautama. Vasiṣṭha and Baudhāyana, were translated into English by Julius Jolly with the title *"The Minor Law Books'* which forms the XXXIII volume of the *Sacred Book of East (S.B.E.)* Series. Unlike many *Brāhmaṇa* theoreticians who assumed that these *Sūtras* are sacred because they are revealed works on par with *Vedas,* scholars like Muller and Buhler underlined their human origin. Muller observes *"Dharma Sūtras"* are the products of *Sūtra Cāraṇas* i.e. *Vedic* Schools whose founder did not pretend to have received revelation of *Vedic-Mantras* or of a *Brāhmaṇa* text, but, merely gave a new systematic arrangement of the precepts regarding sacrifices and the sacred laws".[12] Buhler also puts forward a similar opinion when he writes *"Dharma Sūtras"* are the compositions of ordinary mortals, based on the teachings of the *Vedas,* on the decisions of those who are acquainted with the law and on the customs of virtuous Aryas. In some cases, these authors say as much in plain words. Thus Āpastamba repeatedly laments the sinfulness and the weakness of 'the men of later times' and Gautama warns against an imitation of the irregular conduct of the ancients whose great 'lusture' prevented them from falling".[13] Such explanation for the origin of 'Sacred laws' is in conformity with modern historiography which seeks to substitute myths and legends with historical evolution, where man is the precursor to all the developments in human society.

A perusal of the writings and speeches of these early indologists reveal the fact that most of them nourished great respect and sympathy towards Indian past and its culture. Contrary to the nineteenth century utilitarians like James Mill who criticized the Indian social system to be stagnant and backward oriented and law and polity to be unscientific, scholars like William Jones and Max Muller ushered praise on the values and aims of ancient Indian social, religious and political institutions. Treading the path of romanticism most of them propounded the view that every culture is unique and derives its specificities from its surroundings. They did not subscribe to the prevalent viewpoint which compared and contrasted every society and culture with the European standards nor would they label any culture to be backward and uncivilized if it did not conform to its Western counterpart. Nevertheless, some of the stereotypes, which were so predominant in the imperialist historiography, do creep into the writing of many indologists. It was generally assumed by the Western scholars that there was one common centre which was the originating point of all other cultures. It was also underlined that the West was the original centre of

12. Muller Max, Quoted in G. Buhler's, *The Sacred Laws of the Aryas, S.B.E.,* Vol. II, Part I, p. XVII.

13. Buhler, G., *The Sacred Laws of the Aryas, S.B.E.,* Vol. II, Part I, p. XI.

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humanity and the general trend of cultural flow was from West to East. Some what allied to this nation was the concept of a superior. Aryan race which was instrumental in formulating the earliest human civilization. All the achievements of ancient world, be it in the field of law and polity or in science and literature, were attributed to the Aryan race. The origianl abode of this Aryan race was supposed to have been somewhere in the central Asian steppe and whence they migrated to West and East and developed the ancient European and the Vedic civilizations. William Jones belived in the biblical account which stipulated that the mankind had a unitary origin and thus the different human groups were interrelated to each other. In most of his discourses he attempted to find links between India and other civilizations and also speculated on the original home of the mankind. Jones in one of his discourses observes "no longer probable only, but absolutely certain, that the whole race of man proceeded from Iran as from a centre, whence they migrated at first in three great colonies...".[14] Similarly he also argued that the speakers of Sanskrit "had an immemorial affinity with the old Persians, Ethipians, and Egyptians, the Phoenicians, Greeks and Tucans; the Scythians or Goths, and Celts; the Chinese, Japanese and Peruvians, whence, as no reason appears for believing that they were a colony from any one of those nations, or any of those nations from them, we may fairly conclude that they all proceeded from some central country..."[15]

Max Muller, the doyen of early indologists, too seems to have subscribed to the view that the Western inhabitants and the Vedic peoples belonged to the same Aryan race which on its part was the procreator of all the achievements in the past. Muller writes 'Our nearest intellectual relatives, the Aryas of India, the framers of the most wonderful language, the Sanskrit, the fellow-workers in the construction of our fundamental concepts, the fathers of the most natural of natural religions, the makers of the most transparent of mythologies, the inventors of the most subtle philosophy, and the elaborate laws'.[16] It is also propounded by many Western intellectuals that the temperament of the West is quite different to that of those living in the East. If the former reflected enthusiasm and liveliness to this world the latter regarded this world as illusion and were thus alienated to the mundane affairs of this life. He observes 'whereas in his migrations northward his active and political energies are called out and brought to their highest perfection, we find the

14. Jones William, quoted in D.K. Chakrabarti's *Theoretical studies in Indian Arachaeology*, p. 4.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

16. Muller Max, *India: What can it teach us?* p. 14.

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other side of the human character, the passive and meditative, carried to its fullest growth in India.'[17]

Another important notion which was so dominant in the West was the belief that religion was overwhelming in the Oriental world. It had its influence felt in every sphere of life, be it society or polity or for that matter values and ideals. Underlining that the Ancient Indians were too much engrossed in the metaphysical speculation and other worldly affairs, Muller comments 'religion was not only one interest by the side of many. It was the all absorbing interest, it embraced not only worship and prayer, but what we call philosophy, morality, law and government - all was pervaded by religion. Their whole life was to them a religion-everything else was, as it were, a mere concession made to the ephemeral requirements of this life'.[18]

Among the important indologists of the nineteenth century E.W. Hopkins and Rhys Davids were such, who would not conform to all the prevailing stereotypes regarding the society and polity of Ancient India. These scholars enriched the cause of Indology in more than one ways. Hopkins underlined the importance of Epics in formulating the history of Ancient India. He often taking epics as the source, tried to speculate upon the society and polity of Ancient India. The relation of *purohita* and *Kṣatriya* and their political dominance are discussed by him. However, Hopkins did not subscribe to some of the Western stereotypes. He argues that over emphasis upon the religious and meditative nature of Hindus, would reflect but a partial picture of past. Challenging Muller's view point that 'to the Greek, existence is full of life and reality, to the Hindus it is a dream and a delusion.' Hopkins observes "If we mean by the Hindu, the Hindu philosopher and priest, this is true; but if we apply it to the Hindu at large, it is as misleading as to interpret the spirit of our earlier Europe by the writings of a Thomas a Kempis or Molinos".[19] Undermining the view that religion in Ancient India was overwhelming, he pronounced, "the religious element did not penetrate deeply into the vast mass of unpriestly class".[20]

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17. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
19. Hopkins, E.W., *The Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India (As Represented by Sanskrit Epic)*, p. 126.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

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Like Hopkins, T.W. Rhys Davids too interprets the Ancient Indian history in a seemingly unorthodox manner. Describing India during the period of Buddhist ascendancy, Rhys Davids does not subscribe to the notion of "The immovable East'. Opposing the common view that the Indians were very different from other folk in similar stages or they were more given to superstition, less intellectual, than for instance the Greeks and Romans, Rhys Davids says "Derived partly from a too exclusive study of the priestly books, partly from reading back into the past a mistaken view of modern conditions, it cannot stand against the new evidence derived from the Buddhist and Jain literature written, or rather composed, in independence of the priests".[21] To say that Indians of 7th century B.C. were inferior to the Europeans would not be justified because adequate historical knowledge of neither is available. Not only this, Rhys Davids also points out, "In some respects it would seem to be the other way. In intellectual vigour, at least, the Indians were not wanting. That Europeans should believe, as a matter of course, in the vast superiority of Europeans, not only now, but always is psychologically interesting. It is so like the opinion of the ancient Greeks about barbarians, and of the modern Chinese about foreigners."[22]

Unlike many of his contemporary scholars, Rhys Davids asserts that polity in ancient India was quite developed. He traces the existence of certain political institutions and well defined principles for regulating the political life. Perhaps the more pronounced departure of Rhys Davids from the traditional historiography of Ancient Indian polity is his view of accepting the existence of Republic Kingdoms besides the monarchy.[23] Why this important factor in the social condition of India in the 6th and 7th centuries B.C. has remained hitherto unnoticed by scholars both in Europe and India? This question is sought to be explained by Rhys Davids by his following observation, "They have relied for their information about the Indian peoples too exclusively on the Brahmin books. And these, partly because of the natural antipathy felt by the priests towards the free republics, partly because of the later date of most of the extant priestly literature, and especially for the law books, ignore the real facts. They convey the impression that the only recognized, and in fact universally prevalent, form of govenment was that of kings under the guidance and tutelage of priests.".[24]

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21. Rhys-Davids, T.W., *Buddhist India*, p. 130.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-27.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 1
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

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The developments in philology in the eighteenth century Europe ultimately led to the study of Sanskrit and Ancient Indian literature. This heralded a new era in the historiographical study of Ancient India. Not only close affinity between the European and Indian past was pronounced but the socio-cultural aspect of Ancient India was unraveled as well. While commenting upon the past of India these scholars followed the basic tenets of modern historiography. Unlike the imperialist historians, these orientalists had great respect towards the cultural achievements of Ancient India. The best of philosophical, ethical and religious ethos of Indian tradition was brought to fore. Many ancient texts were edited, translated and commented upon by the early Orientalists. This proved to be of good stead for the succeeding historians and scholars who endeavoured to study the past of India. Even though some of the stereotypes may be traced in the writings of such scholars, they, in general, played a singificant role in bringing the Oriental world within the ambit of modern historiography.

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EDUCATION FOR HUMAN EXCELLENCE - *VEDĀNTA* IN PRACTICE

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In the part, people working in the organizations were given attention merely in terms of administering the necessary conditions of work. The traditional concept of personnel management was based on a very narrow view of human motivation. The Maslow's law of needs hierarchy was followed with an assumption that the human beings are primarily motivated by comforts and salary and attention may be given to rationalize these, so that the people do not get dissatisfied.

However, now it is realized that the people working in organizations are human beings. They have their own needs, motivation, expectations and their contribution to the organization is much more than that of any other resource being used. As such investment in human beings is necessary, and that too on a continuous basis. Development of an individual and group with a view to increasing the collaboration amongst people working in the organization and increasing their effectiveness for decision-making becomes vital.

In other words, educating individual and group becomes the primary role of any management. The effectiveness of the function of managing human resources will, to a great extent, depend upon the emphasis on development of human mind.

We may analyse the development role from the present industrial scenario and compare the same with the concepts of *Vedānta*.

Any Organisation may focus on strengthening of the operating and executive levels and also consolidating existing strengths. In order to be successful in this focus of people development, many aspects of managerial role are involved. Some of them are enumerated herein below.

Planning for future manpower needs as per the requirement of the organization including its expansion, diversification etc. is the first step followed by getting the best

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people available. Unless the people who are selected, are properly utilised, they may not only be wastage for the organization, but, may create problems. Proper utilization of people is as important as getting the best persons for the organization. In order to retain people, they must be motivated to give their best and to make them committed to the organisation.

People come with different backgrounds, with their different needs and skills. Effectiveness of an organization can be measured in terms of the degree to which it is able to integrate the various persons it procures into a common culture, it is developing, certainly, learning and gaining from their experiences and backgrounds. Thus, assessing people for their contribution and planning for their growth, and career planning becomes a vital function of the management.

Development of people is not possible unless the necessary culture and values are created in the organization, a culture which may promote healthy development of people and which may increase the capability of the organization to be effective. Trusting the people, openness to discuss, treating people with respect are some of the trends for humanization which contributes to the new values which will not only develop the society, but, will also contribute towards the effectiveness of the organization in all respects. This is because the organizations exist in the society, they are part of the society, and they derive strength from it. In order to be effective, it is necessary that the organizations are aware of the major cultural characteristics of the society in which they exist.

Selecting right people for jobs and placing people in right roles plays an important role in determining whether people are giving their best to the organization. Selection strategies play an extremely important role in any organization. Through proper selection of the new entrants, it is possible to build a desirable culture as well as desirable norms in the organization.

The educational qualifications cannot be easily the only indicator to judge a person from the point of view of the ability to co-ordinate the activities of various departments, planning abilities, ability to inspire and motivate subordinates etc. Higher managerial abilities like planning, co-ordinating, organizing etc. can not be assessed through simulation and other exercises.

If human resources have to be developed, the organization should create conditions in which people acquire new knowledge and skills and develop healthy patterns of behaviour and styles. One of the main mechanisms of achieving this is institutional training.

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Training is essential because technology is developing continuously and at a very fast rate. Systems and practices get outdated soon due to new discoveries in technology, including technical, managerial and behavioral aspects. However, developing individuals in the organization can contribute to the effectiveness of the organization.

Here comes the major issue. What is the meaning of developing an individual? Which developments? Technical, managerial, or behavioral? Can the development be restricted only to these aspects? Will you achieve from an individual the above after imparting the training? Are there any other related aspects of the development of an individual? What is the real education?

Swami Vivekanand says that education is not the amount of information that is put into your brain and runs riot there, undigested all your life. We must have life-building, man-making, character-making and assimilation of ideas. If you have assimilated five ideas and made them your life and character, you have more education than any man who has got by heart the whole library. He further says that according to him, the very essence of education is concentration of mind, not the collecting facts. He says if he had to do his education over again, and had any voice in the matter, he would not study facts at all, but, would develop the power of concentration and detachment and then with a perfect instrument, he would collect the facts at will.

According to him, Human excellence means Physical, Mental, Intellectual, Moral and Spiritual, and Education means the training by which the current and expression of will are brought under control and become fruitful.

The Hindu Philosophers divide a man's *karma* into three : *Sañcita, Āgāmi* and *Prārabdha.* The *Sañcita Karma* is the vast store of accumulated works done in the past, the fruits of which have not yet been reaped. The *Āgāmi Karma* is the action that will be performed by the individual in the future. The *Prārabdha Karma* is the action which has begun to fructify, the fruit of which is being reaped in this life.

The *Prārabdha* can not be avoided in anyway. The attainment of self knowledge may enable one to abstain from future fruit-bearing action (*āgāmi karma*) or to avoid the consequences of the accumulated action that has not yet begun to operate (*Sañcita Karma*), but, the *Prārabdha,* which has begun to bear fruit, must be reaped. The man endowed with self knowledge may be awakened with the spiritual knowledge, thereby, transforming the life itself.

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Self control is the very core of the Vedantic discipline, without it, no progress is possible in spiritual life, nor any success in meditation. By means of self control, one empties the mind, as it were of its contents and fills up the void with the spirit of Truth.

According to *Vedānta*, the study of Scriptures helps in the realization of Truth only when an individual is equipped with the necessary disciplines.

These are (a) Discrimination between the real and the unreal (b) Building of character (c) Power of concentration (d) Self realisation (e) Spiritual practices (f) Developing an appropriate Mental attitude (g) Loving what you do and take real interest (h) Care for the people working in an organisation (i) Emphasise on duty and not Right (j) Leading, building and Managing teams (k) Creating appropriate Organisational culture and maintaining value system.

Today's world is changing very fast. Technological advances, global competitive forces, telecommunication growth etc. are taking place so rapidly that one has to run to maintain its original place in market. Management has to face many problems like marketing problems, finance problems, labour problems, environmental problems, problems related to government's policy etc. Hence the question may arise as to how can we turn managers into "*Karmayogīs*" in such scenario? But, it is possible. Lord Kṛṣṇa had turned Arjuna into a *Karmayogī* in the Battle-field itself.

Self-management is an integral part of *Vedānta*. The manager should first manage his own self. In *Vedānta*, the "*Rājarṣi*" concept was advocated as the ideal effective manager. It indicates that a manager must be *RĀJĀ*- an ideal human being with divine qualities, who can manage himself.

To be an effective manager, one needs three basic qualities according to Indian philsophy (a) Healthy Philosophy of life and a balanced and matured mind (Service Orientation and concern for the people should be at the centre); (b) Clear idea about his goal and role at individual, Organisational and social level and (c) Quality of a good physician who is always emphatic, objective and takes an appropriate action.

Work is considered as "*Sādhanā*" (Duty) in *Vedānta* Philosophy. Work is considered as an exercise of energy. And since I am not a creator of the energy / life that enables me to work, it is not proper to meausre the returns to my efforts only in terms of rewards I get. Hence, my work can only be an offering to the divine within me / to the Almighty God. Such concept of work helps the individual to develop humility

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and reduces sense of "doership" and "I-ness", thus helping in team-building and leading the people with full motivation.

It is our experience that people spend their valuable time in gathering knowledge. During our life, we have to learn so many things by taking formal and informal education, training, experience etc. Not only this, but, as we are living in the era of information explosion, we have to run to keep pace with the advancing horizons of knowledge in our respective areas like medicine, management, engineering, physical sciences, law etc.

Thus, this knowledge is changing with time and it is necessary to keep pace with it for better performance. But, at the same time, we should not forget that Eternal Knowledge never changes.

The knowledge of eternal truth that I am the *Ātman* and the teachings of the *Vedānta* remain the same. This is awareness that we have to develop which brings unity with all and the whole scenario changes inside out. A broad vision will definitely bring to us the total-internal and external - HAPPINESS.

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REVIEWS

***A New Approach to Puruṣa-sūktam-(A Hymn About the Supreme Being)-With Raṅganāthamunikṛtabhāṣyam-An exposition,* by T. Venkatacharya, Professor Emeritus of Sanskrit, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada; revised and enlarged Second Edition, 2005; published by Devasish Bhattacharjee, Sanskrit Pustaka Bhandar, 38, Bidhan Sarani, Kolkatta, 700006; pp. 1-53,;price: blotted, hence not visible**

The *Puruṣa-sūktam* is one of the most important and well-known philosophical hymns of the *Ṛgveda*. It is to be found also in all the four *Saṁhitās*, with some differences. The hymn is no doubt very famous, since the *Mantras* of it are recited, while offering the sixteen *upacāras* to most of the Gods and Goddesses in the *Pūjāvidhi*. The Sanskrit commentaries of Sāyaṇa, Uvaṭa, Mahīdhara (and also *Ṛjubhāṣya* edited by me, along with Shri M. S. Joshi and published in this Journal vol. 49, 1-2, pp. 7-27 and vol. 49. 3-4, pp. 269-296) are available. Modern scholars also have made their own expositions of the hymn. Still the enigmatic character of the hymn has bewildered the researchers. Prof. T. Venkatacharya, Professor Emeritus of Sanskrit, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada, had also some individual gatherings of explaining the hymn to some interested group in Toronto, which made him think about this hymn of cosmogony of the universe. For this, he referred to several Sanskrit commentaries and also Modern books on the subject. But he seems to be more impressed by the *Bhāṣya* written by Raṅganātha Muni (of 13th century), which he could get from the Adyar collection, printed in 1955. He has mainly concentrated on this *Bhāṣya* and also tried to give his own exposition based upon it. The present book is in fact the Second Revised Edition of the book, first published in 2004.

The book is divided in seven sections . The Text of each *mantra* of the *Puruṣasūktam* (as per the *Taittirīya-Āraṇyakam*-III.12) is first presented in Sanskrit *Devanāgarī* characters, followed also by the text in English Roman characters, with Diacritical marks and English Translation, based upon his exposition. After one page brief sketch on the *mantras* (6,7,8, And 18), a brief account of the text is given. Then three-page introduction, giving information about the hymn, the seer of the hymn and its metre is found, which is followed by acknowledgements.

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From page 16 to 47 again, the text in Sanskrit and English is presented along with the detailed exposition and the new approach in English, which he could arrive at with the study of the commentary of Raṅganātha Muni, which is interspersed with quotations and explanations of the words of the Text.

After giving the bibliography of the works, consulted for the purpose, the author has presented an Alphabetical Index of the *Mantras*.

The scholar has good understanding of the subject and well-acquaintance with the Sanskrit language, since he has also presented some twenty six self-composed verses in *Anuṣṭubh* metre, incorporating the gist of his exposition, regarding the *Puruṣasūktam*.

The book is nicely printed with attractive double(?) cover-page. However, some errors of proof-reading are seen in the text e.g. p. 2 *Pādosyehābhavāt* for *Pādosyehābhavat*, p. 8 he for the, *Gāyatii* for *Gāyatrī*, p.14 *Devanāgari* for *Devanāgarī*, p. 20 *Tripādvardha* for *Tripādūrdhva*, p. 23 *vah* for *vaḥ*, p. 26 becuse, for because, p. 28 *gaṁyate* (three times) for *gamyate*, p. 30 *Sṛṣṭijajña* for *Sṛṣṭiyajña*, p. 39 *trayate* for *trāyate*, p. 45 *Brahmanā* for *Brahmaṇā*, p. 46 *Dhāta* for *Dhātā*, p. 49 Cowkhamba for Chaukhamba, p. 51 *Ṣaṣthayām* for *Ṣaṣthyām*, p. 52 *Sabdena arthanivedane* (unmetrical), p. 52 *Srṣṭi kartā* for *Srṣṭikartā*, p. 52 *Srṣṭiyajñe bhagavate* (unmetrical), p. 52 *yathā yai* for *yathā vai*. It would have been better, if the Sanskrit Commentary of the Raṅganātha Muni of 13th Century, as noted in the cover-page etc. could have found a place in the book.

The author is to be complimented for his novel exposition and approach to the hymn in the sense that he has tried to interpret the concept of the *Yajña* from the point of view of cosmic creation and not the actual sacrifice. Moreover, following the commentator, he points out that *Svarga* is an inferior status, while *Vaikuṇṭha* is the Highest Abode. He is more inclined to interpret the text from the *Vaiṣṇava* standpoint.

The author and the publisher deserve our congratulations for preparing and publishing this book on the *Puruṣasūktam*.

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M.S. University of Baroda,
Vadodara

M. L. Wadekar

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***Mahāsubhāṣitasaṅgrahaḥ*, Compiled by Ludwik Sternbach, edited by S. Bhaskaran Nair; published by Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur; vol. VII, *Subhāṣita*s nos. 11492-13018 (*Ko-Gī*); 1999, pp. I-XiV, 3239-3909, price : Rs.950.**

The *Mahāsubhāṣitasaṅgrahaḥ* is the most extensive collection of *Subhāṣita*s, compiled by Prof. Ludwik Sternbach . This is the seventh volume of it, containing pp. 3239 to 3909, with *Subhāṣita* numbers 11492 to 13018, beginning with the letters *Ko* to *Gī.*, which is edited by S. Bhaskaran Nair, Director-Professor of the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur. It is a matter of great pleasure to me that the review of the previous volume (no. VI), written by me and published in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute* (Vol. XLIII, Nos. 3-4 pp. 258-259) is reprinted in the book (pp. 3005-3906) and is taken note of also in the Preface to this volume.

As per the usual scheme of the earlier volumes, the Sanskrit *Subhāṣita* is first printed in the *Devanāgarī* alphabetical order, along with the mention of its sources and variants if any. This is then followed by the note regarding its metre and after that the English translation of the particular *Subhāṣita* is presented with the mention of the name of the translator. If any *Subhāṣita* is found similar to it, its *Pratīka* and *Subhāṣita* number are also carefully noted.

In such voluminous works, the appendices are also useful tools of research. Five Appendices are also given 1 Abbreviation-cum bibliography, 2 Index of authors and sources of individual verses, 3 Index of translators of individual verses, 4 Index of Sanskrit metres, 5 Subject Index. After this, *addenda* and *corrigenda* to this volume and some reviews of the volume VI are presented.

The book is no doubt a very useful tool for research, but is really a gigantic project. The volume under review is also prepared and published with utmost care and decency. The compiler and the editor/publisher deserve our admiration for their dedication to the work.

M. L. Wadekar

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***The Catalogue of the Ancient-coins in the B. J. Institute Museum,* edited by Dr. Bharati Shelat, Pub. By B. J. Institute of Learning & Research, Ashram Road, Ahmedabad - 380 009, First edition, 2003, Price: Rs. 225.00, PP. I-XVI, 1-79, Plates I to VIII.**

The Gujarat Vernacular Society was founded in 1848. It was named as Gujarat Vidya Sabha, when its scope was expanded to become pioneer Institute of Gujarat in the field of literary and cultural studies. The late Dr. Anandshankar B. Dhruv, the then President of Gujarat Vidya Sabha established a Post-Graduate and Research Department under the wings of Vidya Sabha. The late Sheth Bholabhai Jesingbhai donated a sizable amount to start couple of progressive disciplines by forming a separate trust, which was named as Sheth Bholabhai Jesingbhai Institute of Learning and Research (B.J. Institute). Along with the rich library of books and manuscripts on the subject of Indology, a museum was established with modest collection of antiquities such as stone and bronze Sculptures, terracotta, artefacts, miniature paintings, illustrated manuscripts, *ganjifa* and coins. The collection of coins include about 4,900 coins consisting of 467 ancient coins, about 3,400 medieval coins and 1,070 modern coins.

In 2003, the Institute has published a catalogue of 467 ancient coins of its collection. The publication was funded by Shri K.R. Sant Memorial Trust of Gujarat Vidya Sabha. Ms. Nayana Adhvaru, museum-in-charge painstakingly prepared this catalogue and Dr. Bharati Shelat, Director of the Institute, meticulously edited it.

The catalogue covers punch-marked, Indo-Greek, Indo-Sythian, Indo-Parthian and Soter Megas coins. There are also Kushan, Sarva Bhattarak, Gupta, Indo-Sassanian, Chaulukya, Siddharaja Jaysinha, Hindu Shahi coins and coins of Chola king of South India.

In the beginning of catalogue entries, there are seven tables which give classified information of the coin collection such as number of coins dynastywise, metalwise, shapewise, rulerwise etc. At the end, eight plates of illustrations of important and rare coins are appended.

The lacuna in the catalogue entries appears to be due to absence of information about the source of acquisition or findspot of coins. The prevalance of coins at a particular place tells the story of the political, economic and social conditions of the region, from where the coins are discovered.

The catalogue is well-prepared and attractively printed. The cover design with sharp pictures of selected coins add to the beauty of the catalogue. This is probably for the first

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time that a good coin catalogue is published in Gujarat by an institution having a modest collection of coins. Both the curator-in-charge and the editor deserve appreciation of their efforts in preparing and publishing this catalogue.

The other museums in the state of Gujarat are having large collections of coins kept in sealed trunks and boxes, unclassified and unidentified. This treasure of coins has probably been locked very important historical evidence useful for reconstruction of the history of the region. The museum authorities of Gujarat should take inspiration from the work done by the B.J. Institute museum in the field of Numismatics and plan series of such catalogues of their rich coin collections for the benefit of the students and researchers working in the field of Numismatics.

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Madhav Gandhi

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पातञ्जलयोग (अष्टाङ्गयोग), पदच्छेद, अन्वय और भाषाटीकासहितः Compiled and published by Surendra Shankar Anand, 3580, 37-D, Chandigadha - 160 036, India, 2006, First Edition, pp. 134, Price: Rs. 200/-.

The book under review is compiled by the author with "पदच्छेद, अन्वय और भाषा-टीकासहित" in Hindi.

The *Pātañjalayoga* is one of the six orthodox systems of Indian Philosophy. Yoga is the most ancient science. Yoga tenets are found in the Upaniṣadas also. The word Yoga comes from the root *yuj* to unite. So Yoga is the union of the Individual soul with the Absolute. Patañjali describes the entire philosophy of Yoga science in the *Yogasūtras.* These *Yogasūtras* are in four chapters and 195 *Sūtras.*

The present work is compiled under eight chapters and five appendices. The first chapter narrates the classification of the *Sūtras* of the four *pādas* of *Yogasūtras.* The second

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chapter explains the method of reading the *Sūtras*. The third is the introductory chapter. The fourth chapter describes the *Tattvasamāsasūtra* of Maharsi Kapila with पदच्छेद, अन्वय और भाषा-टीकासहित. Then the text of the four chapters of the *Yogasūtras* viz. *Samādhipāda*, *Sādhanapāda*, *Vibhūtipāda* and *Kaivalyapāda* is given from the fifth chapter to eighth chapter respectively. Here first the *Sūtra* in Sanskrit is given, then the meaning of each word in the *Sūtra* and then follows Hindi translation of the same. Then follow the five appendices containing the bare text of the *Yogasūtras* and four useful charts.

The text in the *Sūtra* style is often unintelligible by itself. It is always like a *mantra*. But these aphorisms are here explained and translated in Hindi in an intelligible and lucid style. This is the most attractive and noteworthy aspect of the book. For the beginners and for the general readers, this book is very useful. Moreover, the statement of the author given on the title page, "इस पुस्तक से उपार्जित धन का उपयोग जरूरतमंद बच्चों की शिक्षा में किया जायेगा।" is most significant as the author is going to use the amount received, for educational purposes.

The title of the book पातञ्जलयोग is itself very appropriate. So, I think, there is no need to write 'अष्टाङ्गयोग' in bracket as it is a part of the पातञ्जलयोग. Hindi and Sanskrit printing of the book as well as the cover page of the book is very attractive.

The author, publisher and distributor Shri Surendra Shankar Anand deserves our hearty congratulations for his noble purpose and the useful book. We expect more publications from the pen of the author.

Oriental Institute
The M. S. University of Baroda.

Meena Pathak

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COMMENTARIES ON THE *VĀLMĪKI RĀMĀYAṆA* AS WINDOWS INTO THE SANSKRIT KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS OF MEDIEVAL INDIA*

It is a great honour as well as a privilege for me to have been invited to deliver this year's Dr. U. P. Shah Memorial Lectures in the memory of that great *Rāmāyaṇa* scholar. I am not at all sure that I am worthy of the honour; but I welcome the privilege as the Late Dr. Shah was a colleague and a friend whose sage advice was of inestimable value to us as we directed our faltering footsteps towards the arduous path of attempting a scholarly translation and annotation of the great Critical Edition of the *Ādikāvya* that was produced here at the Oriental Institute of Baroda under the direction of such giants as Dr. G.H. Bhatt, P.L. Vaidya, P.C. Divanji, D. R. Mankad, G. C. Jhala, and, of course, Dr. Shah himself.

With this advice, the assistance of Dr. Wadekar and the scholars at the Oriental Institute and with the grace of Lord Rāma, Hanumān, and the *Ādikavi Ṛṣi* Vālmīki we have been able to complete the translation and annotation of the first six volumes of this monumental work and are now hard as work on the seventh and final section, the *Uttarakāṇḍa*. I am pleased to announce that Princeton University Press is now in the process of printing the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* and that the whole translation has been taken up for reprinting by Messrs Motilal Banarsidas of Delhi and as one of the core works of the Clay Sanskrit Library for publication both in the United States and in India.

With this a preamble, and ever mindful of my temerity in addressing this learned audience in keeping with the maxim *paṇḍitasabhāyām apaṇḍitā maunaṃ bhajeyuḥ*, let me now turn to the topic of today's discussion.

The numerous, largely understudied, but often extremely interesting medieval commentaries on the major Sanskrit epic and *purāṇic* texts constitute a significant genre of pre-modern South Asian secondary scholarship, the study of which raises significant issues of hermaneutics, philology, theology, critical theory and translation theory. I am referring here chiefly to the available corpus of Sanskrit language commentaries on the seminal smṛti texts the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*.

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* The text of the First Lecture Delivered as Part of The late Dr. U. P. Shah Memorial Lecture Series No. 8. on the 7th December, 2006

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When I began to read these commentaries and to take them seriously, I found them to be not only useful because of the help they afford in understanding the texts to which they are keyed, but in many ways fascinating in their own right. For these works give us a unique avenue through which we can gain insight into the ways in which a variety of learned individuals were able to deploy the entire spectrum of the traditional systems of *śāstraic* knowledge in the service of the elucidation of deeply cherished but often contested texts. In short, I believe that these works, when taken seriously, afford us an unparalleled opportunity to observe the workmanlike *application*, rather than simply the *śāstraic* formulation, theorization and defence of pre-modern Sanskrit knowledge systems.

Let me turn now to the specific texts I mean to address and why I want to address them. As indicated above, I am referring especially to the commentaries on the great popular texts that have served, perhaps more than any others, to disseminate the social, political and religious ideology of Brahmanical-Hindu civilization. The ideology to which I refer is the one primarily articulated and defended in the seminal *vaidika* and *śāstraic* texts. Articulated in closely guarded and or technical works, this ideology was disseminated to the broad mass of South and Southeast Asian populations principally through the popular epic and *purāṇic* texts mentioned above and the complex set of cultural phenomena they have inspired.

Because of the ways in which these three texts have saturated, as it were, the intellectual, political, social, folkloric, artistic, musical, literary, religious and philosophical life of southern Asia they have naturally tended to become the ground for considerable interpretive appropriation and intellectual contestation. This has become manifest in the form of the multiple commentaries to which each of these texts has given rise. The importance of there being multiple commentaries produced by different commentators at different times and in different places should also be stressed here. The divergent readings, views and interpretations as well as the plethora of intertextual appropriations and bitter or mocking disputes serve to warn us that no text can exist apart from its interpretive communities and that a complex mix of affiliation and antipathy is an essential element of a living intellectual tradition. When authors merely rehearse older interpretations and texts, when, to put it another way, *anuvāda* replaces *vivāda*, a tradition is, in effect, dead.

Let me emphasize that the commentaries that I am speaking about here are interesting precisely because and not in spite of their secondary status. I am not talking about the sort of commentary that may equal in importance to or even outshine the primary text on which it is based; works such as those mentioned above like Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* or philosophical commentaries such as those of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, etc., which have long been read as objects

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of study in their own right. Rather, these are the nuts and bolts infrastructure of a workmanlike hermaneutic tradition that, while not *śāstras* themselves, are as close as we can probably get to a dynamic appreciation of the *śāstraic* intellect in action.

With this as a preamble, I would like to turn now to a few specific examples, focusing particularly on some of the eight or ten Sanskrit commentaries on the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* that we in the *Rāmāyaṇa* translation consortium have been reading in connection with our ongoing translation and annotation of the epic. In so doing I hope to be able to demonstrate something of what I would call the *work* of the commentators, by which I mean their techniques, their deployment of the resources of the vast complex of systematic knowledge and the larger, shared project in aid of which this deployment is carried out.

The reader of texts like the *Rāmāyaṇa* or the *Mahābhārata* must approach them after making a profound, but generally unexamined, choice as to whether to see them on the one hand as some kind of historically informed myth or fairy tale or, on the other, to understand them as inspired records of actual historical events.

Early western scholarship on the epics is often harshly critical of the poems for their apparently chaotic structure and their fanciful or even juvenile representation of absurd events. For what, after all are we supposed to make of a 'national epic' like the *Rāmāyaṇa* filled with monstrous ten-headed demons as huge as mountains and gigantic talking monkeys who can fly across the sea? To the modern scholar such things call for interpretation. Are we dealing with folk tales that have grown out of control? Are the events described allegorical? Are they primitive versions of nature myths in which powerful celestial and meteorological forces are personified? Are these tales the literary analogues of dreams in which the deepest psychic fears and fantasies of a civilization are acted out in shared acts of imagination? All of these interpretative strategies have been attempted as have several others.

The Sanskrit commentators on the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* for the most part do not see the work as calling for *interpretation* in the sense in which I see western-style scholarship reading the work. That is to say they do not generally believe that the poem means something other than what it says, although as I hope to show, even this rule is subject to certain interesting exceptions. For them the events described in the epic are, however fantastic they may seem to us, things that actually happened in real, historical, if very distantly past, time.

In saying this I do not at all mean to suggest that there is some particularly irrational mind set that is characteristic of Indian pre-modernity, any more than, say, a literalist reading

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of *Genesis* is typical of modern western thought. Indeed, there is ample evidence for a strong streak of rationalism in much early Sanskrit writing exemplified, for example, in the Jain scholars' critiques and revisions of many of the events and wonders narrated in the epics and their re-workings of the poems often contain a powerful element of what can only be called rationalist interpretation. Thus for Vimalasūri, for example, the author of the Prakrit *Rāmāyaṇa* known as the *Paumacariya,* there are no talking monkeys, only tribal groups that use the monkey as their banner while the fanciful ascription of ten heads to Rāvaṇa derives from the fact that he wore a necklace of nine brilliant gems each of which bore the reflected image of his one and only head.

This skeptical attitude is perhaps most charmingly represented in a verse from Vidyākara's eleventh century anthology of courtly Sanskrit poetry where, in a poem ascribed to Dharmakīrti, the poet laments his lack of critical acclaim as follows:

śailair bandhayati sma vānarahṛtair vālmīkir ambhonidhiṃ
vyāsaḥ pārthaśarais tathāpi na tayor atyuktir udbhāvyate |
vāgarthau ca tulādhṛtāv iva tathāpy asmannibandhān ayaṃ
loko dāśayati prasāritamukhas tubhyaṃ pratiṣṭhe namaḥ ||

This is rendered in the late Professor Ingalls' elegant translation as:

Vālmīki dammed the sea with rocks
put in place by monkeys,
and Vyāsa filled it with arrows shot by Pārtha;
yet neither is suspected of hyperbole.
On the other hand, I weigh both word and sense
and yet the public sneers and scorns my work.
Oh Reputation, I salute thee![1]

Indeed, beyond a certain point even the epic commentators may balk at too lofty a flight of fancy, characterizing some utterly fantastic episodes as *bālakathāḥ*, stories for children. An example of exactly where a pre-modern scholar can draw the line between fact and fiction can be seen in the opening *sarga* of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* of the poem. Here, in the course of his epic leap across the ocean, a feat, the historicity of which none of the commentators questions, the monkey hero Hanumān engages in a peculiar contest with the great Serpent

1 Vidyākara 1957 p. 297. Ingalls1965, pp. 444-445.

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Mother Surasā, whom the gods have induced to take the form of a monstrous all-devouring demoness in order to test the monkey's mettle. Each time the giantess opens her gaping jaws the monkey expands ten *yojanas* higher until they have reached the stupendous height of one hundred *yojanas*. Finally Hanumān shrinks in an instant to a tiny size so he can fly in and out of Surasā's mouth and thus satisfy everyone's honour.[2]

This episode, although it is set in the middle of one of the culture's best known and most deeply cherished narratives, is finally enough to strain the credulity of at least two of the epic's commentators.

Govindarāja, an important Śrīvaiṣṇava commentator of the 15th or 16th century understands this episode to be an interpolation that fits poorly with its context. Taking a rationalist stance, he argues that some of the more extravagant verses are inconsistent and clearly interpolated since it would surely have been noticeable both to the monkeys (on the northern shore of the sea) and the inhabitants of Laṅkā (on the southern shore) if indeed Hanumān and Surasā had enlarged themselves to the colossal size of one hundred *yojanas*. *madhye kecana ślokāḥ prakṣiptā asaṅgatāś ca śatayojanāyatatve vānarair laṅkāvāsibhiś ca jñātaḥ syād iti virodhāt*[3]. In this opinion he is seemingly joined by the independent minded 17th century commentator Kataka Mādhava Yogīndra, who finds this passage to be a perfect place for interpolation (*idam atisuśliṣṭaprakṣepasthalam*). He goes on with his characteristic sarcasm to comment, *bhāgyam asmākam. śatayojane samāptaḥ kila sahasrayojanāyata ity anuktvā* "How fortunate for us that they quit at one hundred *yojanas* and did not go on to tell us that they expanded to a thousand!"[4]

But aside from occasional passages such as this, which serve to demonstrate that the commentators were not prepared to accept anything uncritically, their basic project seems to have been to subject the story to a kind of close and careful reading grounded both in logic and philology and serving, as part of their purpose, to provide the historical details and interpretive strategies that rescue the epic action from the realm of pure fantasy.

Note too that even in regard to the example just given the instinct of the commentators is not to falsify the words of the poet-seer, which according to a well-established cultural

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2 CE 5.1.130-156. Unless otherwise indicated all references are to this edition.

3 Govindarāja's comment is on GPP 5.1.149 (= CE 5.1.142).

4 Kataka on CE 5.1.145.

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convention can, virtually by definition, never be other than true. Instead they resort to another form of scientific reasoning, that of the textual critic, to show that an utterly incredible passage is not the work of Vālmīki at all.

The commentators pursue their agenda of validation in a number of ways. The simplest and most fundamental of these, perhaps, is their constant effort to provide the epic story of a vanished age of the world with a fairly precise relative chronology. This can be observed on a large scale in the development throughout the earlier books of the poem of a determination of the age the principal characters and a chronology of the years of Rāma's exile and Sītā's captivity.[5] In the sixth book, the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, in which the great battle of Laṅkā is lengthily and lovingly recounted, several of the commentators evince great interest in chronicling the war on a day-to-day basis. Although they often disagree as to when a specific event or battle takes place they will try to track the narrative, observing, for example that the slaying of such and such a *rākṣasa* took place on the evening of a particular fortnight of a particular month, or, alternatively, on such and such day of the war.

The attention and ingenuity devoted to providing rational explanations for narrative details are extraordinary and illuminating. Let me mention a few specific examples in an effort to provide a clear sense of what is at issue here.

Anyone even slightly familiar with the Rāma story as represented in literary and visual media throughout southern Asia will be familiar with the episode in which the heroic monkey Hanumān brings to Laṅkā a Himalayan mountain rich in medicinal herbs in order to revive and heal Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and the thousands of monkey troops who have been laid low by the magical arts and martial skill of the *rākṣasa* champion Indrajit. Indeed the painted, poster-art and sculptural image of Hanumān carrying the mountain through the sky is one of the most commonly duplicated and widely recognized among Hindu India's plethora of popular religious icons.

According to Vālmīki the power of the medicinal herbs brought by Hanumān is such that the slain and mortally wounded warriors are revived, restored and healed of their wounds by their mere fragrance as it wafts across the battlefield.[6] This scene is firmly lodged in the

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5 For a discussion of the issue of chronology in the epic see Pollock 1986. Note to 2.17.26, pp. 359-360. See also Goldman et al. Forthcoming. Notes to 6.4.4 passim.

6 CE 6.61.67. "No sooner had the two human princes smelled the fragrance of those powerful healing herbs than they were freed on the spot from their arrow wounds. The others, too, the heroic tawny monkeys stood up as well." Translation from Goldman *et al.*, Forthcoming.

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minds of scholars and lay audiences of the *Rāmāyaṇa* alike. Few among modern aficionados of the tale, however, I would guess, have ever paused to wonder how long it took Hanumān to accomplish this amazing feat. In other words, exactly how fast would he have flown? This issue, however, has not escaped the attention of the commentators several of whom take note of a verse unique to the southern recension of the poem in which it is observed that the bodies of the slain *rākṣasas* had been cast into the sea "for the sake of honour on the orders of Rāvaṇa." *ye hanyante raṇe tatra rākṣasāḥ kapikuñjaraiḥ/ hatā hatās tu kṣipyantu sarva eva tu sāgare*[7]

The commentators seize on this as the obvious explanation of why the wafting fragrance of the healing herbs does not revive the slain *rākṣasas*. But what is more interesting is that they also supply a logical military explanation for Rāvaṇa's order. They claim that he commanded that the *rākṣasa* dead be hurled into the sea in order to conceal from the monkey troops the number of his casualties so that the latter do not immediately invade the city of Laṅkā in the realization of how small a force must be left to defend it.

Mention of this episode raises an interesting question. Exactly how fast does Hanumān actually fly? In order for Hanumān to fetch the mountain of herbs from the Himalayas to Laṅkā, replace it in its proper location once he had accomplished his mission, and then return to the battlefield it appears that he would have had to make two round trip flights between the *rākṣasas'* island citadel and what is today western Tibet. We know from the text that the mountain is close to Mt. Kailāsa, and, if we make the assumption, still no doubt a debatable one to be sure, but one that was probably shared by the commentators in question (if not necessarily by Vālmīki) that ancient Laṅkā and modern Sri Lanka are one and the same,[8] then we can estimate four trips of roughly 1250 miles or a little over 2000 kilometres each or a total of approximately 5,000 miles or some 8000 kilometres in all. Although the commentators do not, as it happens, specify the distance, assuming perhaps that their audiences would have a general idea of the geography, they do engage in a debate over the time that it took Hanumān to make these trips.

The epic's account of Hanumān's mission is bracketed by two verses relevant to the question of timing. In the first of these Hanumān and the *rākṣasa* Vibhīṣaṇa, Rāvaṇa's defector

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7 CE 6. 1396*, lines 5-8

8 Regardless of where if anywhere Vālmīki may have located Laṅkā, it is probable that by the time of the commentators, Sri Lanka was understood to be the site of the battle.

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brother, virtually the only two of Rāma's champions left standing in the wake of Indrajit's massacre, search the battlefield for other survivors. The text says, "Then the two heroes, Hanumān and Vibhīṣaṇa, foremost of the *rākṣasas*, together roamed the battlefront in the night, torches in hand." *tāv ubhau yugapad vīrau hanūmadrākṣasottamau | ulkahastau tadā rātrau raṇaśīrṣe viceratuḥ||*[9]

After the completion of Hanumān's mission, the monkeys, now restored to life and health, prepare to launch another assault on the citadel of Laṅkā. The second of the two verses I mentioned reads as follows: "Then, when the sun had set and the dread onset of night had come, the leaping monkeys with their torches marched towards Laṅkā." *tato 'staṅgata āditye raudre tasmin niśāmukhe | laṅkābhimukhāḥ solkā jagmus te plavagarṣabhāḥ ||*[10] One will have noted that in both verses the characters must carry torches (*ulka*) for the purpose of illumination.

The commentators, needless to say, have noted this as well. They differ, however, as to how much time, if any, has elapsed between the periods of darkness mentioned in the verses. Kataka and Nāgojī (the latter as so often following the former) understand that Vibhīṣaṇa and Hanumān searched the battlefield in the waning moments of the night while the revived monkeys' renewed assault on Laṅkā takes place at the onset of the following night. Thus, allowing for the passage of one tropical day, they calculate Hanumān's four flights (allowing of course for a brief interval during which he searches for the recalcitrant herbs) have taken precisely thirty *ghaṭikas* of twenty-four minutes each or exactly twelve hours. This, they argue, brings us to the evening of the following day. *Pūrvadivasāpararātriśeṣa ulkāhastābhyāṃ hanūmadvibhīṣaṇābhyāṃ jāmbavadanveṣaṇam. tatas tanniyogata uṣasi parvatāharaṇāya gamanam. athāharaṇaṃ punaś ca tatprāpaṇaṃ punarāgamanam iti triṃśadghaṭikamadhye sarvam. tataḥ punaḥ pradoṣe hanumadādīnāṃ laṅkādāhagamanam iti katakādayaḥ.*[11] By this reckoning, Hanumān would have sailed along at a speed of some four hundred and sixteen miles or around six hundred and seventy kilometres per hour.

On the other hand, Maheśvaratīrtha and Govindarāja, who follow a textual and hermeneutical tradition different from those of Nāgojī and Kataka, believe that the reference

9 CE 6.61.7.

10 CE 6.62.4.

11 Nāgojībhaṭṭa on GPP 6.75.4 (= CE 6.62.4.)

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to the sun setting is not a specific marker of the time of day, but merely a way of indicating that it is dark. By "the onset of night," Govindarāja further understands that the first watch (*yāma*), of the night is intended and that the monkeys' assault therefore takes place at the end of that period so that it is not twilight, but pitch dark. The idea here is that because of Hanumān's inconceivable speed, he accomplishes the fetching and return of the healing herb mountain in a mere instant. *niśāmukha iti rātreḥ prathamayāma ucyate. raudra iti viśeṣaṇād yāmāntatvena gāḍhāndhakāratvam ucyate. hanumāṃś ca mahādbhutavegaśālitayā muhūrtamātreṇa prasthāyauṣadhiparvatam ānīya taṃ punas tatra nikṣipyāgatavān iti tasya vegātiśayaś ca pratipādito bhavati*[12]. Thus rather than the twelve hours of day envisaged by Kataka and Nāgojī, Maheśvaratīrtha and Govindarāja believe that only about a second has elapsed while Hanumān was in the air. In this case, if my calculations and those of the latter two commentators are correct, the monkey would have had to exceed speeds of at least four and a half million miles or seven million two hundred kilometres per hour.

For the commentators this is a very serious matter. Maheśvaratīrtha even responsibly acknowledges the position of Kataka and Nāgojī as a possible alternative to his own.[13]

What is clear is that this, like many issues that may seem trivial or even frivolous to us, is a matter of scholarly consideration and even controversy, which, for reasons I will return to later on, is of sufficient significance to the scholiasts to amply warrant the considerable mental energy they expend on it. My next example will, I hope, make this clearer still.

Those who have enjoyed the *Rāmakathā* in any of its innumerable versions will surely recognize the name and character of Kumbhakarṇa, the largest and most grotesque of the epic's many larger than life characters. For the gargantuan *rākṣasa* prince, as described by Vālmīki, is surely one of his, and indeed the entire literature's most extraordinary figures.

In Kumbhakarṇa we find a warrior so enormous that he towers over the mighty ramparts of the citadel of Laṅkā.[14] His deep, somnolent breathing is so forceful that it literally blows other powerful *rākṣasas* out of his cave.[15] The fleshly appetites of this monster are so vast that he breakfasts on piles of deer, buffalo and boar, washing this Brobdignagian repast

12. Govindarāja on GPP 6.75.4 (= CE 6.62.4.).

13 *yadvā tato 'staṃ gata āditye raudre tasmin niśāmukha iti paradinavṛttāntaḥ.* Maheśvaratīrtha on VSP 6.75.4.

14 CE 6.49. 1-6.

15 CE 6.48. 18-19, 34.

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down with a thousand jars of strong drink.[16] And, when he is finally slain by Rāma, his enormous head smashes the gates of the buildings on Laṅkā's main thoroughfares and knocks down its lofty rampart, while his headless trunk falls into the sea crushing crocodiles, shoals of huge fish, and serpents before entering the earth.[17]

Yet of all the extraordinary things the *Rāmāyaṇa* tells us about Kumbhakarṇa, by far the most striking and the most widely recognized is the prodigious nature, both in terms of duration and of profundity, of his sleep. The depth of his slumber is, like everything else about this interesting figure, extraordinary. The heroic efforts required of the *rākṣasas* to wake him: the blaring of trumpets, the beating of drums, the assault with fists, feet and various weapons and the trampling with herds of elephants, etc. are elaborately and amusingly described at length by Vālmīki.[18] However, among all of these extraordinary and grandly hyperbolic descriptions it is the epic's varying accounts of the etiology and duration of Kumbhakarṇa's sleep that chiefly interest the commentators.

The issues here are largely textual with different passages of the epic providing seemingly divergent calculations of the duration of Kumbhakarṇa's slumber. But the ways in which the commentators strive to reconcile these accounts provide a useful insight into how they approach this complex text and why they explain it as they do. It will therefore be necessary go into a certain amount of detail on this issue in an effort to convey something of the complex interweaving of various systems of knowledge and the continuing debate and dialogic interaction that characterizes the commentarial approach to the poem.

The first mention of Kumbhakarṇa's sleep in the critically edited text of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*[19] occurs in the forty-eighth *sarga* of the book. There Rāvaṇa, having been humiliatingly defeated and then dismissed from the battlefield by Rāma, tells his attendants that Kumbhakarṇa, whom he describes as being overcome by Brahmā's curse, (*brahmaśāpābhihataḥ*)[20] must be awakened as he is the only warrior seemingly capable of defeating the demon-king's enemies. He describes Kumbhakarṇa as sleeping for "six, seven,

16 CE 6.48.26-26,82.

17 CE 6.55.124-5.

18 CE 6.48.28-48.

19 For a detailed discussion of the commentators' elaborate efforts to reconcile the seeming contradictions see . See Goldman *et al.* Forthcoming. Note to 6.48.12.

20 CE 6.48.9.

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eight or even nine months at a stretch." (*nava ṣaṭ sapta cāṣṭau ca māsān svapiti rākṣasaḥ*)[21] He goes on to add that, "addicted to this vulgar pleasure (i.e. sleep) his brother lies in a stupor all the time." (*kumbhakarṇaḥ sadā śete mūḍho grāmyasukhe rataḥ*)[22]

Rāvaṇa's comments, in which he mentions, but does not describe in any detail, a curse on the part of Brahmā thus appear to indicate that the periods of Kumbhakarṇa's sleep are variable. But Rāvaṇa's indeterminacy seems to be somewhat at odds with the account of the history and terms of the curse as they are related to Rāma by Kumbhakarṇa's other brother Vibhīṣaṇa in the very next chapter (*sarga* 49).

There we learn that when Indra, having been defeated by Kumbhakarṇa, appeals to Brahmā for help, the latter, fearing that the monster represents a threat of universal destruction, curses him to suffer immediate and perpetual sleep so that he will be, in effect, dead. (*tasmāt tvam adya prabhṛti mṛtakalpaḥ śayiṣyasi*)[23]. But at this point, so Vibhīṣaṇa's version goes, Rāvaṇa intervenes arguing that it is wrong of Brahmā to, in effect, put his own grandson to death. Acknowledging that the word of Brahmā can never prove false and that the curse of somnolence is inevitable for his brother, the *rākṣasa* lord nevertheless urges the Creator to set some specific time limits on Kumbhakarṇa's sleeping and waking.(*kālas tu kriyatām asya śayane jāgare tathā*)[24]. Moved by Rāvaṇa's appeal, Brahmā modifies his curse, ordaining that the voracious Kumbhakarṇa shall sleep for periods of precisely six months, waking only for a single day between these periods to indulge his ferocious appetite by consuming all the worlds like a raging fire. (*śayitā hy eṣa ṣaṇmāsān ekāhaṃ jāgariṣyati । ekenāhnā tv asau vīraś caran bhūmiṃ bubhukṣitaḥ ॥ vyāttāsyo bhakṣayel lokān saṃkruddha iva pāvakaḥ ॥*)[25].

These two variants on the duration of Kumbhakarṇa's periods of sleep, however, do not exhaust the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*'s varying formulations of the story. For, in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* we find yet two more accounts of this seemingly simple matter according to which the *rākṣasa*'s epic naps are to be reckoned not in months but in years or even millennia.

One of these additional calculations of Kumbhakarṇa's period of sleep, narrated at

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21 CE 6.4812.

22 CE 6.48.14.

23 CE 6.49.23

24 CE 6.49.25.

25 CE 6.49.26-27.

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Uttarakāṇḍa 10.31-41, is of particular interest. For it is here that we find a perhaps better-known account of how Kumbhakarṇa came to sleep for so long. Here his profound and protracted sleep is not the result of a curse, but of a kind of boon. In this passage, the sage Agastya tells Rāma the following story. The gods, fearing that if Brahmā were to grant Kumbhakarṇa the same kind of boon in compensation for his heroic austerities as his brothers Rāvaṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa have earned, he would become a still greater terror than before. They beg the god to delude him under the pretext of granting him a boon through which they will actually save the world and lay the monster low. (*varavyājena moho 'smai dīyatām amitaprabha | lokānāṃ svasti caiva syāt bhaved asya ca saṃnatiḥ* ||)[26]. Brahmā agrees and summons Sarasvatī, the goddess of speech, instructing her to enter Kumbhakarṇa and speak through him to choose his "boon." Thus, when Brahmā asks Kumbhakarṇa to select his reward he replies, "O god of gods, what I desire is to sleep for many years." (*svaptuṃ varṣāṇy anekāni devadeva mamepsitam*)[27]. The deluded demon is then left wondering what sort of strange request has come out of his mouth.[28]

The final reference to the duration of Kumbhakarṇa's sleep in the *Rāmāyaṇa* three *sargas* later on as a continuation of Agastya's tale of the history of the principal *rākṣasas*. Here, unlike in the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* version narrated by Vibhīṣaṇa, where Kumbhakarṇa collapses in a stupor the moment Brahmā utters his curse, some time elapses between the deceit perpetrated by Brahmā and Sarasvatī and Kumbhakarṇa's succumbing to his drowsiness. At *Uttarakāṇḍa* 13.1-7, the irresistible urge to sleep only gradually comes upon the demon. He informs Rāvaṇa of this and the latter has time to have his artisans construct a grand and ornate sleeping chamber for him. Only when the building is complete does Kumbhakarṇa succumb to his fatigue and fall into a profound slumber that, in this variant, continues without his waking for "many thousands of years." (*bahūny abdasahasrāṇi śayāno nāvabudhyate*)[29]

Thus it appears that there are basically two separate and ultimately irreconcilable accounts of how Kumbhakarṇa came to sleep for so long, the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* version in which he is cursed as a result of his rapacity and the *Uttarakāṇḍa* version in which he is "rewarded" for his austerities with a fraudulent "boon" that has the same purpose and much the same effect as the curse. Each version has two sub-variants, narrated in close textual proximity to

26 CE 7.10. 34. Cf. the Vulgate's *variant saṃmatiḥ*, "honour, satisfaction" for the CE's *saṃnatiḥ*.

27 CE 7.10.39.

28 CE 7. 10.41.

29 CE 7.13.7.

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each other, each with a slightly different account of the duration of Kumbhakarṇa's period of dormancy. As a result, it appears that in regard to this fairly minor and seemingly simple point of fact, as it were, the text of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, as it has come down to us has four different calculations of the duration of Kumbhakarṇa's slumber.

Whatever we, as literary scholars and textual critics, might make of these discrepancies, perhaps writing them off under the rubric that Vālmīki, like Homer sometimes nods, or, like some scholars, attributing the various versions to different historical strata of the epic text, the commentators find these variations to be both significant and troubling. Let me go back for a moment to Rāvaṇa's statement that his brother sleeps "for six, seven, eight, *or* even nine months at a time (*nava ṣaṭ sapta cāṣṭau ca māsān.*)". The reading of the critical edition, which can also be understood to mean "for nine, six, seven, *and* eight months" that is to say for thirty months, appears to be accepted and discussed by only one commentator, Govindarāja.

Govindarāja understands the passage to indicate that on different occasions Kumbhakarṇa may sleep for nine months, or seven months, etc. He sees this as in keeping with the demon's non-specific boon request (at *Uttarakāṇḍa* 10.39) to sleep for many years (*varṣāṇy anekāni*). He then refers to the other two formulations, suggesting that the curse of sleeping for precisely six months at 6.49.26 either refers by synecdoche (*upalakṣaṇa*) to the *rākṣasa's* other, longer periods of sleep or represents the minimum time during which he must remain asleep (*anyūnābhiprāyaṃ vā*). Finally, he provides a lengthy quotation from the *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* (7.5.6.1) where, in the context of the *vedic gavāmāyana* ritual procession, it is stated that the officiants reckon as a month (*māsa*) a period of six days (*ṣaḍahaḥ*). If, Govindarāja argues, we then add up the number of such "months" indicated in the verse, we get a total of thirty months (i. e., 6+7+8+9=30) of six days each, or 180 days. This calculation then agrees with the passage at 6.49.26, at which the *rākṣasa* sleeps for exactly six lunar months reckoned at 30 days each.

A variety of manuscripts collated for the critical edition as well as the widely published texts of the southern commentators as well as the printed texts of the northern recension such as the editions of Lahore and Gorresio, read instead *nava sapta daśāṣṭau ca māsān*, "for, nine, seven, ten, and eight months." This reading is mentioned as a variant and commented upon by Govindarāja as well. Nāgojī attempts to reconcile the three different calculations by arguing that the verse does not specify a precise period of time during which Kumbhakarṇa must sleep, but simply indicates that that period has no upper limit. He further states that the reference at 6.49.26 indicates only that six months is the *minimum* period that

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he must sleep, but that after any period of sleep, his waking is restricted to a single day. In other words, Nāgojī argues that "the boon" of Brahmā specifies only how long Kumbhakarṇa can be awake, not how long he must sleep. This, he argues, is confirmed by the other two passages mentioned above where Kumbhakarṇa is said to sleep for "many years" or for "thousands of years." The commentator Śivasahāya extends this argument by claiming that although Brahmā's boon compels Kumbhakarṇa to sleep for at least six months, there is nothing to prevent him from sleeping naturally beyond that term[30] (*taduttaraṃ svabhāvikanidrāyā niṣedhābhāvāc ca*)."

Nāgojī also refers to another line of interpretation, which he attributes to unnamed others. According to this interpretation, the word *aṣṭau* is not to be understood in the sense of the number eight, but as the locative singular of a noun *aṣṭi* "to pervade or eat" whose range of meaning he extends to include the sense of "to leave aside (*tyāge*)." Rendered thus the compound *daśāṣṭau*, has the sense of "leaving aside ten." If then, as Nāgojī suggests, we add up the nine and seven months mentioned in the verse, we get a period of sixteen months, which, with ten months subtracted, leaves the six months of sleep referred to in 6.49.26. Although Nāgojī does not specify his sources, this ingenious interpretation is found in a variety of other commentators, who differ only in their derivation and lexical identification of *aṣṭau*. Thus, Govindarāja, who notes this variant, derives the word from the root √*aś*, in the sense of "eating (*aśanam*)," whose meaning he extends to "loss or destruction (*nāśaḥ*)." Similarly Śivasahāya glosses, "swallowing (*nirgaraṇa*) in the sense of "casting out (*niḥsāraṇe*)" and takes the word in the sense of "eating." *Lokanātha*, perhaps deriving the word from the root √*as*, "throw, toss," glosses "casting out ten." (*daśaprakṣepe sati*)[31].

Interestingly, Śivasahāya, who accepts Nāgojī's ingenious suggestion that we must cast out ten to achieve the total number of months, balks at his idea that the passage indicates merely a minimum period during which the giant must sleep. In his comments on *Uttarakāṇḍa*10.45 (= critical edition 7.10.39), he quotes Nāgojī but indicates that the latter's opinion here is doubtful (*cintya*) since, according to him, there are two separate "boons" at issue: the one referred to in the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* and the one in the *Uttarakāṇḍa*. Śivasahāya adds a new dimension to the problem of the duration here by interpreting the boon Kumbhakarṇa solicits against his will while under the influence of Sarasvatī as specifying a period of slumber of three years.[32] He claims that the *Uttarakāṇḍa* account makes no allusion

30 Śivasahāya on CE 6.48.12. See Goldman et al. Forthcoming, Note to 6.48.12.

31 Quoted in Gorresio, 1856,vol. 9, p. 377

32 *anekāny ekabhinnāni kapiñjalādhikaraṇanyāyena trīṇītyartho varṣāṇi*

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to any such condition. So far as I have been able to discover Śivasahāya is the only commentator to address the issue of there being two separate and complementary explanations for Kumbhakarṇa's sleep quite apart from the question of the different lengths of time during which he is supposed to sleep. Other commentators concern themselves exclusively with reconciling the numbers.[33]

But what precisely are we to make of the heroic struggles of the *Rāmāyaṇa* commentators to rationalize the two accounts of the curse/boon of Kumbhakarṇa?[34]

If the authors of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* version which we will have to assume is at the very least somewhat posterior to that of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, were as cavalier as all epic bards and poets about the consistency of multiple versions of a given story, the same is clearly not the case the scholiasts who become the custodians and interpreters of the text for the Sanskrit knowing intellectuals of early modern India. As I see it they are in effect part of a large and complex cultural, literary, and theological project to interpret and represent the epic as history. Thus for them, differences in the details of a narrative, especially if they involve significant characters and events are potentially critical problems requiring the investment of considerable ingenuity, learning, and intellectual capital by way of rationalization and remediation. [35]

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33 One must keep in mind that it is a common place of the epic texts to provide two or more complementary explanations for a single event or phenomenon. Well-known examples would be the three explanations for Draupadī's polyandrous marriage and the two causes of Kalmāṣapāda's becoming a *rākṣasa*. The only additional light that the epic literature seems to shed on this is to be found in the terse narration of Kumbhakarṇa's curse found in the *Rāmopākhyāna* of the *Mahābhārata*. There (MBh 3.259.28) when the *rākṣasa* is told by Brahmā to select a boon as a reward for his austerities the text simply says, "He chose long sleep, his mind being seized by darkness." (*sa vavre mahatīṃ nidrāṃ tamasā grastacetanaḥ*) On this, the influential 17th century commentator Nīlakaṇṭha explains, "The expression 'by darkness' means that it was out of delusion that he chose sleep, which he did not desire." (*tamasety aniṣṭām api nidrāṃ mohād vṛtavān ity arthaḥ* : Nīlakaṇṭha. *ad* CS 3.275.28)

34 Perhaps the epic poets had something of the attitude expressed to V. Narayana Rao by brahman women in Andhra regarding *Rāmāyaṇa* variations across versions. "Like most of the participants in the tradition, these women believe the *Rāmāyaṇa* to be fact and not fiction, and its many different versions are precisely in keeping with this belief. Contrary to the usual opinion, it is fiction that has only one version; a factual event will inevitably have various versions, depending on the attitude, point of view, intent, and social position of the teller. Narayana Rao 1991.

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Thus a primary concern of the commentators who exert considerable influence on the textual and interpretive history of the poem from around the 12th through the 17th centuries is to validate the work as a basically unitary and internally consistent narrative of real events that, if they took place in the most remote antiquity (*the tretāyuga*), nonetheless played out in real and calculable time in real geographic locations.[36] This is not to say that they accepted everything in their received manuscripts as belonging to the authentic composition of the First Poet or, in consequence, as correct history. On the contrary, they argue among themselves about many matters both philological and hermeneutic, declaring one passage or another to be either authentic (*pāṅkta*) or interpolated (*prakṣipta*) and engaging in interpretive disputation,

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35 The degree to which the commentators exert themselves to rationalize even seemingly trivial apparent contradictions in the text can be illustrated by the way in which Govindarāja has highlighted a small discrepancy in the chronology of Sītā's captivity in Laṅkā. He observes that in the *Sundarakāṇḍa* Sītā had mentioned to Hanumān (CE 5.35.8) that she had only one month remaining of the year that Rāvaṇa had allowed her before she would either have to submit to him or be eaten. On the other hand Rāvaṇa himself had earlier told Sītā that she had two months remaining before his grim deadline (CE 3.54.22 and 5.20.8). Cg explains the discrepancy by observing that Sītā's calculation is the accurate one, while Rāvaṇa's is erroneous as a result of his intoxication brought on by his drinking too much honey-wine! (*avaśiṣṭau dvau māsāv ity uktir madhupānamattatayā avivekakṛtā.*)

36 It should be noted, moreover, that the commentators extend their range of inquiry and remediation far beyond the confines of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*. Thus they are keenly aware of the fact that the many versions of the Rāma story that are found in the *Mahābhārata* and the *purāṇas* often contradict Vālmīki. Interestingly they rarely fall back on the popular explanation that the details of the tale vary as the events are repeated in the different cycles of cosmic time. Instead they propose a kind of hierarchy of historicity among the various types of texts. Thus, for example Govindarāja can rationalize the failure of Vālmīki's Rāma to mention the Rāmeśvaraliṅga as he flies over the tip of southern India despite the fact that his establishment of it is mentioned in the *purāṇas*, arguing that that although the *purāṇas* may deal effectively with such great cosmological events as the creation and destruction of the universe, they are poor sources for the reconstruction of history (as opposed to cosmogony), in which latter area the epics themselves are far more reliable. (*purāṇaṃ sargapratisargādiṣv anyaparam iti netihāsavat pūrāvṛttakathane tātparyavat.*) On this see see also Goldman *et al.*, Forthcoming, notes to 6.111.12. Similarly, Nāgojī accords greater historicity to the CE as compared with the MBh when he observes that the former describes the cremation of Rāvaṇa while the latter represents the demon king as having been vaporized by Rāma's *brahmāstra*, leaving nothing to cremate. See Goldman *et al.*, Forthcoming note to 6.99.42.

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often of a violent or mocking character, with their predecessors. Although they may thus disagree, even sharply with each other in these matters, the common goal of each is to edit and explain the *Rāmāyaṇa* as a clear, unitary and internally consistent narrative of an exemplary and theologically significant history.

The commentators' approach to textual variance and the fantastic in the epics present us with an interesting and useful object of study. It also presents us with a fascinating and valuable corpus of textual exegesis that shows us how deeply imbedded the epics were in the complex cultural and intellectual universe of pre-modern Sanskrit scholarship. Finally it demonstrates the extraordinary intellectual and linguistic resources traditional scholars had at their disposal in pursuit of their hermeneutic project while it shows us with tremendous clarity how deeply important the understanding of what some might think of as extravagantly mythological tales as in fact consistent, genuine and verifiable history was and to a great extent still is, to Indian audiences.

What is of particular note is that in pursuit of their interpretive and rationalizing project the commentators deploy a vast array of cultural and scientific information that spans the spectrum of the knowledge systems available to the intellectuals of what Professor Pollock has called the Sanskrit ecumene. To comment fully on an encyclopedic work like the *Rāmāyaṇa* a commentator must have access to and be able to creatively cite a dizzying array of works including, the *vedas*, ritual science, grammar, lexicography, poetics, logic, hermaneutics, theology, architecture, military science, the science of bodily characteristics, cookery, astronomy and astrology, the various branches of natural history, and mythology to mention a few as well as an established if not fully codified tradition of what can only be called philology or text criticism.

The point is that these authors, although some of them like Nāgojī, who was a reputed grammarian, may well have been specialists in one *śāstra* or another, approach the epic in many ways as general public intellectuals who must have had access to significant collections of manuscripts, libraries if you will, to enable them to carry on their work. For surely they cannot be thought to have memorized all of the texts and sciences to which they refer. Theirs was surely a literate intellectual culture of reference.

Reading these works then can give us important insight into what the intellectual universe of the learned generalist must have been like in the centuries before the advent of European political and scientific power began to change the conditions under which this kind of intellectual culture could thrive. Reading these texts, moreover, enables us to immerse

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ourselves directly into this world with all of its concerns, its intellectual strategies, its resources and its ongoing debates and discussions about the meanings of the culture's most foundational documents.

Let me note in closing one important project of the commentators that I have thus far glossed over and briefly allude to some of the interpretive strategies they employ to further it. I am referring to the theological aspect of their work, which is implicit throughout and quite explicit in a number of cases.

I have avoided this area for the most part in this presentation neither because I do not think it significant nor because I do not regard it as worthy of attention. On the contrary, I believe that it is a theological and more particularly a sectarian spirit that most deeply animates these commentaries and that they are eminently worth studying for that reason alone by those who are interested in the history of religion in South Asia in general and in the development of South Indian Vaiṣṇavism in particular.

But this is not the area of inquiry and exegesis that I wanted to bring forward in calling attention to this remarkable corpus of scholarship, which, as I hope I have indicated, subjects the *Rāmāyaṇa* to a far broader kind of inquiry than the merely religious and is all the more important and interesting for that reason.

That said, I do not want to create an impression that the *Rāmāyaṇa* commentators were simply a group of objective, disinterested text critics and cultural historians. On the contrary, they generally come to their task in a spirit of reverence for Rāma as an *avatāra* of Lord Viṣṇu, a God made flesh, as it were,[37] in order to punish evildoers and bring his virtuous devotees to salvation. Indeed it is in connection with the theology of the epic and the differing sectarian orientations of the different sub-schools, so to speak, of the Śrīvaiṣṇava and Madhva commentators in particular that we see some of the most mocking and bitter disputes among them which can rise, or descend depending on how you view it to the level of verbal abuse.[38]

There is also an issue of interpretation here that I alluded to. Several of the

37 Note for example the extensive commentarial debate on whether the *avatāra* really bleeds when wounded or merely appears to do so, like an actor, either to sustain the appearance of mortality or to serve as an exemplar to humans who might not follow the path of *dharma* if they think the heroes are gods. On this see the commentators on GPP 6.45.9 (= CE 6.35.9.)

38 Cf. Kataka's bitter comments such as "*ity anartham pralapya naśyatv ayam pāpī.*" Satyatīrtha is similarly contemptuous about the views of Nāgojī and Maheśvaratīrtha.

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commentators, particularly those aligned with the text associated with Rāmānuja (whose gloss is all but non-existent and mostly derivative at that), notably Maheśvaratīrtha and Govindarāja frequently read the epic on two distinct levels. One of these levels is that of the apparent or manifest content of the text. On this level they comment in the role of the generalist scholar-intellectual outlined above, agreeing with some commentators, disputing others, or proposing their own unique interpretations. Govinda and Maheśvara however are particularly prone to offer themselves implicitly as almost impartial synthesizers of a variety of interpretive possibilities. Thus they frequently offer an ample menu of alternative interpretations. The latter can, when inspired sometimes come up with ten or more possible ways to read a phrase while the former has been derided by later rivals as *yadvābhaṭṭa*, "Mr. Or [it could also mean]."

But in addition, they each often contribute, when the theological tenor of a passage seems to them to warrant it, different kinds of "deeper" or even allegorical readings in which they strive to bring out a kind of latent or hidden level of meaning. Maheśvara makes a frequent distinction between the *spaṣṭārtha*, or clear, manifest meaning of a verse and its *vāstavārtha*, or real, inner meaning. In many instances, as for example where the manifest meaning of the text indicates that Rāma or Lakṣmaṇa is defeated, injured, or at a loss, he re-reads the verse to bring out its different, often directly opposite meaning to show that the god on earth is ever victorious and invulnerable. Or, at other places, he will reverse the valence of an emotional speech so as to show, for example, that Rāvaṇa's threats of Sītā and his declaration of his carnal passion for her are really to be interpreted as expressions of *bhakti* or religious devotion of a passionate devotee for the Goddess. In a related but somewhat different way, Govinda, too, sometimes reads verses or passages in accordance with what appear to be *Vaḍagalai* allegorical interpretations in which the relationships among the epic characters are seen as representing the quest of the individual soul for union with the Lord. Several of the commentators, notably Maheśvara and Satyatīrtha fully exploit the virtually unique capacity of the Sanskrit language to have a given sequence of syllables yield a variety of different meanings by breaking up words in different ways and by making use of the opportunities provided by *sandhi* and the rich lexical resources of the language. In a number of instances the commentators either deny the apparent suffering of the heroes or interpret in as part of an exemplary charade in which the *avatāra* represents physical injury, bleeding, emotional suffering, etc. as would an actor so as to serve as an example of stoicism to mortals or to merely act consistently with the role of the incarnation supposedly unaware of his own divinity.

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These phenomena constitute yet another reason for a serious study of these texts as they provide us with numerous fascinating examples of the suppleness of the traditionally trained scholarly mind and the immense flexibility of the Sanskrit language while offering many intriguing intellectual and philological puzzles, struggle with which increases our own ability to understand and appreciate the breadth and subtlety of the *śāstraic* mentality.

It was not my intention to provide too detailed a discussion of these texts, but I wanted to give a meaningful sense of what they are like and how they not only inform us about the meaning of the epics and about their receptive history but provide us with a virtually unique window through which we may glimpse the workmanlike application of the full spectrum of *śāstraic* systems of knowledge to a very practical and culturally critical project. For these reasons and the others touch upon above I commend these important, fascinating, instructive but poorly studied texts to the attention of scholars interested in the role of the Sanskrit epics in the formation of the rich and complex cultural and intellectual heritage of India.

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THE ELEPHANTS' SONG : VĀLMĪKI'S *YUDDHAKĀṆḌA* AS *NĪTIŚĀSTRA* AND *DHARMAŚĀSTRA**

नाग्निर्नान्यानि शस्त्राणि न नः पाशा भयावहाः ।
घोराः स्वार्थप्रयुक्तास्तु ज्ञातयो नो भयावहाः ॥

"It is not the fire, the other weapons, or the ropes that put us in danger; it is our own vicious kin intent on their own self interest that are the real danger to us."
(Rām. 6.10.7)

At 4392 *ślokas* in the relatively short critical edition the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* is by far the longest of the seven *kāṇḍas* of Vālmīki's monumental poem and narrates the epic's culminating event, the destruction of the monstrous *rākṣasa* king Rāvaṇa, an event that fulfills the divine mission of Lord Viṣṇu's *Rāmāvatāra*. Despite its obvious centrality to the poem, however, and with the exception of a few well-known and often represented episodes, the *kāṇḍa* as a discrete section of the monumental *Ādikāvya* has generally been passed over rather lightly by scholars and audiences alike.[1]

Thus it is true that certain iconic moments in the *kāṇḍa*, such as the construction of the bridge to Laṅkā, Hanumān's heroic flight to fetch the mountain of healing herbs, the death of Rāvaṇa, Sītā's fire ordeal and Rāma's long-deferred consecration have secured a powerful hold on the popular imagination and remain to this day prominent elements of the visual popular culture of Hindu India. Similarly, several of the book's more extraordinary and larger than life characters such as the gargantuan Kumbhakarṇa and the sorcerer-warrior Indrajit loom large in popular imagination, joining Rāvaṇa as the inspirations for gigantic effigies in

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* The text of the Second Lecture Delivered as Part of The late Dr. U. P. Shah Memorial Lecture Series No. 8, on the 8th December, 2006

1 Unless otherwise indicated, all *Rāmāyaṇa* references are to the Critical Edition. The *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa: Critical Edition*. (1960-1975). 7 vols. Baroda: Oriental Institute. General editors: G. H. Bhatt and U. P. Shah

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the Ramalīlā celebrations and even, in the case of Indrajit, being recast as the tragic hero of a modern narrative poem.[2]

With these few exceptions, however, most of the Book has tended to be either ignored or skipped over no doubt because it consists mainly of lengthy, repetitive, stereotypical and seemingly endless accounts of battles, both chaotic mass encounters between the *vānara* and *rākṣasa* hosts and single combats between the various champions of the respective sides. In short it has been generally regarded as the most tedious portion of the epic. Indeed, when the *Rāmāyaṇa* translation consortium was first organized it was difficult to find a scholar willing to take on the translation of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*.

But the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* is not entirely devoted to the strategies and conduct of war. In addition to its colourful and often harrowing descriptions of bloody conflict, the Book's narrative by its nature and structure offers many opportunities for discussions of statecraft, moral and ethical debates and reflections on social and political relations. The poet makes ample use of these opportunities.

The *Rāmāyaṇa*, unlike the *Mahābhārata*, tends to teach its lessons in *dharma* more by illustration and example than through sustained didactic exposition. Therefore, perhaps, the work has not been subjected to the kind of intensive scholarly investigation of its role as a *dharmaśāstra* and a *nītiśāstra* that has contributed so much to our understanding of the longer poem and its influence. Nonetheless, the work does present several interesting instances in which characters, even surprising ones, do engage in relatively sustained discourse on moral behavior and political strategy. Nowhere in the poem is this more the case than in the capacious confines of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*.

Thus the Book contains a number of striking passages that, in a way reminiscent of parts of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* and even the *Mahābhārata*, lend to it something of the quality of a *nītiśāstra* and a *dharmaśāstra*. Interestingly, in many cases throughout the Book its most eloquent and learned exponents of moral conduct and ethical statecraft are figures from whom one might least expect this kind of discourse, that is to say from some of the epic's greatest violators of the moral and ethical norms of brahmanical civilization. These figures include the voracious and gargantuan monster Kumbhakarṇa and even the archenemy of the Vedic order, that *"lokakaṇṭaka"* or thorn in the side of the world, Rāvaṇa himself.

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2 Seely, Clinton. (trans.). (2004). *The Slaying of Meghanāda: A Rāmāyaṇa from Colonial Bengal.* Michael Madhusudhan Datta: Translated with an Introduction by Clinton B. Seely. New York: Oxford University Press.

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The principal junctures for the exposition and discussion of ethical and expedient conduct are the councils and debates that take place frequently among both parties to the conflict when their respective leaders, Rāma and Rāvaṇa, are confronted with crises and calamities and are forced to make critical decisions in consultation with their advisers.

The first of these occasions occurs quite early in the Book even before Rāma has crossed the sea to begin the siege of Laṅkā. Rāvaṇa, after inspecting the destruction wrought in his city by Hanumān's rampage in the *Sundarakāṇḍa,* shows the first signs of doubt as to his invulnerability and summons his counsellors to advise him as to what course to take in response to the threat that now confronts him. In so doing he lectures them at length on the importance of sound counsel to a monarch and discourses learnedly on the different types of counsel and the three types of counsellors that are described in the texts on *artha* and *nīti.*

मन्त्रमूलं हि विजयं प्राहुरार्या मनस्विनः ।
तस्माद्वै रोचये मन्त्रं रामं प्रति महाबलाः ॥५

त्रिविधाः पुरुषा लोके उत्तमाधममध्यमाः ।
तेषां तु समवेतानां गुणदोषं वदाम्यहम् ॥६

मन्त्रिभिर्हितसंयुक्तैः समर्थैर्मन्त्रनिर्णये ।
मित्रैर्वापि समानार्थैर्बान्धवैरपि वा हितैः ॥७

सहितो मन्त्रयित्वा यः कर्मारम्भान्प्रवर्तयेत् ।
दैवं च कुरुते यत्नं तमाहुः पुरुषोत्तमम् ॥८

एकोऽर्थं विमृशेदेको धर्मे प्रकुरुते मनः ।
एकः कार्याणि कुरुते तमाहुर्मध्यमं नरम् ॥९

गुणदोषावनिश्चित्य त्यक्त्वा दैवव्यपाश्रयम् ।
करिष्यामीति यः कार्यमुपेक्षेत्स नराधमः ॥१०

यथेमे पुरुषा नित्यमुत्तमाधममध्यमाः ।
एवं मन्त्रोऽपि विज्ञेय उत्तमाधममध्यमः ॥११

ऐकमत्यमुपागम्य शास्त्रदृष्टेन चक्षुषा ।
मन्त्रिणो यत्र निरतास्तमाहुर्मन्त्रमुत्तमम् ॥१२

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बह्व्योऽपि मतयो गत्वा मन्त्रिणो ह्यर्थनिर्णये ।
पुनर्यत्रैकतां प्राप्तः स मन्त्रो मध्यमः स्मृतः ॥१३

अन्योन्यमतिमास्थाय यत्र संप्रतिभाष्यते ।
न चैकमत्ये श्रेयोऽस्ति मन्त्रः सोऽधम उच्यते ॥१४

तस्मात्सुमन्त्रितं साधु भवन्तो मन्त्रिसत्तमाः ।
कार्यं संप्रतिपद्यन्तामेतत्कृत्यतमं मम ॥१५

Those who are venerable and wise say that counsel is the cornerstone of victory. Therefore I seek your counsel, mighty warriors, with regard to Rāma. There are three types of men in this world: the highest, the lowest, and those in between. I will now set forth the merits and demerits of each of them. The highest type of man, they say, is he who first takes counsel with those counsellors intent upon his welfare and competent in counsel, with those friends who share his goals, or with those kinsmen who wish him well, and only then initiates an undertaking such that his efforts are in harmony with the will of the gods. The man who stands in between, they say, is he who reflects upon a matter by himself, who by himself directs his thoughts to righteous action, and then carries through those actions by himself. And the lowest type of man is he, who, after saying, -I will do this,- undertakes an action-regardless of its merits and demerits and without relying on the will of the gods-and then fails to carry it through. Just as men are invariably of three types: the highest, the lowest, and those in between, so also must the counsel they receive be of the same three types: the highest, the lowest, and that which is in between. The highest type of counsel, they say, is when counsellors are consistently of one mind through insight informed by the *śāstras*. The counsel which is known as that which is in between, they say, is when counsellors, having adopted many different opinions, subsequently reach unanimity as to how to decide a matter. The lowest type of counsel is when counsellors go on debating, one after another, each defending his own position, and no conclusive argument can bring about unanimity. Therefore, you eminent counsellors should agree on some excellent and appropriate counsel for me to follow. I will follow it faithfully.[3]

3 6.6.5-15.

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The king's sycophantic counsellors and generals predictably boast about how easily they will annihilate Rāma and his forces while only his younger brother, Vibhīṣaṇa, has the good sense and moral courage to warn Rāvaṇa of the grave danger in which his evil behaviour has placed him and to urge him to save himself and his people by returning Sītā to Rāma forthwith. His argument presents another fine example of *śāstraic* reasoning and sound policy.

तान्गृहीतायुधान्सर्वान्वारयित्वा विभीषणः ।
अब्रवीत्प्राञ्जलिर्वाक्यं पुनः प्रत्युपवेश्य तान् ॥७

अप्युपायैस्त्रिभिस्तात योऽर्थः प्राप्तुं न शक्यते ।
तस्य विक्रमकालांस्तान्युक्तानाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥८

प्रमत्तेष्वभियुक्तेषु दैवेन प्रहृतेषु च ।
विक्रमास्तात सिध्यन्ति परीक्ष्य विधिना कृताः ॥९

अप्रमत्तं कथं तं तु विजिगीषुं बले स्थितम् ।
जितरोषं दुराधर्षं प्रधर्षयितुमिच्छथ ॥१०

समुद्रं लङ्घयित्वा तु घोरं नदनदीपतिम् ।
कृतं हनुमता कर्म दुष्करं तर्कयेत कः ॥११

बलान्यपरिमेयानि वीर्याणि च निशाचराः ।
परेषां सहसावज्ञा न कर्तव्या कथंचन ॥१२

किं च राक्षसराजस्य रामेणापकृतं पुरा ।
आजहार जनस्थानाद्यस्य भार्यां यशस्विनः ॥१३

खरो यद्यतिवृत्तस्तु रामेण निहतो रणे ।
अवश्यं प्राणिनां प्राणा रक्षितव्या यथाबलम् ॥१४

एतन्निमित्तं वैदेहीभयं नः सुमहद्भवेत् ।
आहृता सा परित्याज्या कलहार्थे कृतेन किम् ॥१५

न नः क्षमं वीर्यवता तेन धर्मानुवर्तिना ।
वैरं निरर्थकं कर्तुं दीयतामस्य मैथिली ॥१६

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यावन्न सगजां साश्वां बहुरत्नसमाकुलाम् ।
पुरीं दारयते बाणैर्दीयतामस्य मैथिली ॥१७

यावत्सुघोरा महती दुर्धर्षा हरिवाहिणी ।
नावस्कन्दति नो लङ्कां तावत्सीता प्रदीयताम् ॥१८

विनश्येद्धि पुरी लङ्का शूराः सर्वे च राक्षसाः ।
रामस्य दयिता पत्नी न स्वयं यदि दीयते ॥१९

प्रसादये त्वां बन्धुत्वात्कुरुष्व वचनं मम ।
हितं पथ्यं त्वहं ब्रूमि दीयतामस्य मैथिली ॥२०

पुरा शरत्सूर्यमरीचिसंनिभान्नवाग्रपुङ्खान्सुदृढान्नृपात्मजः ।
सृजत्यमोघान्विशिखान्वधाय ते प्रदीयतां दाशरथाय मैथिली ॥२१

त्यजस्व कोपं सुखधर्मनाशनं भजस्व धर्मं रतिकीर्तिवर्धनम् ।
प्रसीद जीवेम सपुत्रबान्धवाः प्रदीयतां दाशरथाय मैथिली ॥२२

But Vibhīṣaṇa stopped them as they all stood there, weapons in hand, and bade them be seated once again. Then, cupping his hands in reverence, he said these words. The learned have prescribed as appropriate the use of force only on those occasions where one's object cannot be achieved by means of the other three stratagems, dear brother. And, dear brother, the use of force, even when made judiciously and in accordance with the proper injunctions, succeeds only against those who are off guard, preoccupied, or stricken by misfortune. How then can you all hope to assail someone who is vigilant, intent on victory, firm in his strength, the master of his anger, and utterly unassailable? Who could have imagined the impossible feat that Hanumān accomplished, leaping across the fearsome ocean, lord of rivers and streams? By no means, night roaming *rākṣasas,* should we rashly underestimate our foes; for their forces and valour are immeasurable. And what offense had Rāma previously committed against the king of the *rākṣasas* that the latter should have abducted that illustrious man's wife from Janasthāna? Even if Rāma did kill Khara, who was attacking him, in battle, still, all living creatures must strive to the limit of their strength to save their own lives. For this

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> reason, Vaidehī constitutes a grave danger to us. She, who has been abducted, must be surrendered. There is no point in acting merely to provoke a quarrel. It would therefore not be appropriate for us to engage in pointless hostility with this powerful and righteous man. You must give Maithilī back to him before he lays waste with his arrows to our city with its elephants, its horses, and its myriad of precious things. You must give back Sītā before this vast, dreadful, and unassailable army of monkeys storms our Laṅkā. If you do not of your own free will give back Rāma's beloved, then the city of Laṅkā and all its valiant *rākṣasas* will surely perish. As your kinsman, I beseech you, do as I say. What I am telling you is both salutary and beneficial. You must give Maithilī back to him. You must give Maithilī back to Prince of Dāśaratha before he unleashes for your destruction his massive and unfailing arrows, newly tipped and fletched and resembling the rays of the autumnal sun. Give up your wrath, so destructive of both happiness and righteousness. Practice righteousness, which is conducive to pleasure and fame. Calm yourself that we may survive together with our sons and kinsmen. You must give Maithilī back to Prince of Dāśaratha.[4]

That Rāvaṇa's response to his brother's well-meaning words is harsh and bitter, and that it drives him to defect to the side of Rāvaṇa's enemies, is well known. What is perhaps less frequently considered is that this angry response too is couched in the terms of an interesting bit of cynical worldly wisdom of the type associated with the *nīti* literature both in its aphoristic and fable formats. Arguing that false friends and treacherous kinsmen are more dangerous than open enemies, and that all fraternal relationships are vitiated by sibling rivalry, the *rākṣasa* lord quotes a series of verses that he characterizes as well known. He attributes this bit of worldly wisdom to a song once sung by herd of wild elephants. The burden of this "song of the elephants" is that the greatest danger in this world arises from one's envious and ambitious kinfolk. He says,

> वसेत्सह सपत्नेन क्रुद्धेनाशीविषेण वा ।
> न तु मित्रप्रवादेन संवसेच्छत्रुसेविना ॥ २
>
> जानाति शीलं ज्ञातीनां सर्वलोकेषु राक्षस ।
> हृष्यन्ति व्यसनेष्वेते ज्ञातीनां ज्ञातयः सदा ॥ ३

4. 6.9.7-22

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प्रधानं साधकं वैद्यं धर्मशीलं च राक्षस ।
ज्ञातयो ह्यवमन्यन्ते शूरं परिभवन्ति च ॥ ४

नित्यमन्योन्यसंहृष्टा व्यसनेष्वाततायिनः ।
प्रच्छन्नहृदया घोरा ज्ञातयस्तु भयावहाः ॥ ५

श्रूयन्ते हस्तिभिर्गीताः श्लोकाः पद्मवने क्वचित् ।

पाशहस्तान्नरान्दृष्ट्वा शृणु तान्गदतो मम ॥ ६

नाग्निर्नान्यानि शस्त्राणि न नः पाशा भयावहाः ।
घोराः स्वार्थप्रयुक्तास्तु ज्ञातयो नो भयावहाः ॥ ७

उपायमेते वक्ष्यन्ति ग्रहणे नात्र संशयः ।
कृत्स्नाद्भयाज्ज्ञातिभयं सुकष्टं विदितं च नः । ८

विद्यते गोषु सम्पन्नं विद्यते ब्राह्मणे दमः ।
विद्यते स्त्रीषु चापल्यं विद्यते ज्ञातितो भयम् ॥ ९

ततो नेष्टमिदं सौम्य यदहं लोकसत्कृतः ।
ऐश्वर्यमभिजातश्च रिपूणां मूर्ध्नि च स्थितः ॥ १०

One can live with one's enemy, or even with an enraged, venomous serpent, but never with a false friend in the service of one's foes. I know very well the nature of kinsmen the entire world over, *rākṣasa*. Kinsmen always take pleasure in each other's hardships. If a man is a leader, competent, learned, righteous in his conduct and valiant, *rākṣasa*, then his kinsmen will malign him and bring him down. Always affecting pleasure in one's company, they turn on one in times of trouble. Concealing their true feelings, vicious kinsmen are a source of danger. There are these well-known verses that were sung once upon a time in the Padmavana by some elephants who had seen some men carrying ropes to snare them. Listen to them, as I recite them. 'It is not the fire, the other weapons, or the ropes that put us in danger; it is our own vicious kin intent on their own self interest that are the real danger to us. For no doubt, it is they

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> who point out the means of capturing us. Therefore, we know that the danger presented by one's kin is the most severe of all. In cattle there is wealth, in the *brāhmin*, self-restraint. In women, there is fickleness, from a kinsman, danger.' And that is why, dear brother, you cannot bear it, that I am respected throughout the worlds, that I have attained universal sovereignty, and that I have set my foot on the heads of my enemies.[5]

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> तन्मह्यं रोचते संधिः सह रामेण रावण ।
> यदर्थमभियुक्ताः स्म सीता तस्मै प्रदीयताम् ॥ ९
>
> तस्य देवर्षयः सर्वे गन्धर्वाश्च जयैषिणः ।
> विरोधं मा गमस्तेन संधिस्ते तेन रोचताम् ॥ १०
>
> असृजद्भगवान्पक्षौ द्वावेव हि पितामहः ।
> सुराणामसुराणां च धर्माधर्मौ तदाश्रयौ ॥ ११
>
> धर्मो हि श्रूयते पक्षः सुराणां च महात्मनाम् ।
> अधर्मो रक्षसां पक्षो ह्यसुराणां च रावण ॥ १२
>
> धर्मो वै ग्रसतेऽधर्मं ततः कृतमभूद्युगम् ।
> अधर्मो ग्रसते धर्मं ततस्तिष्यः प्रवर्तते ॥ १३

5. 6.10.2-10

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तत्त्वया चरता लोकान्धर्मो विनिहतो महान् ।
अधर्मः प्रगृहीतश्च तेनास्मद्बलिनः परे ॥ १४

स प्रमादाद्विवृद्धस्तेऽधर्मोऽहिर्ग्रसते हि नः ।
विवर्धयति पक्षं च सुराणां सुरभावनः ॥ १५

Therefore, I would recommend making peace with Rāma, Rāvaṇa. You should give him back Sītā on whose account we are so heavily besieged. All the gods, seers, and *gandharvas* desire Rāma's victory. Therefore, you should not oppose him. You should choose to make peace with him. The blessed grandfather Brahmā created two races: that of the gods and that of the *asuras,* who had recourse to righteousness and unrighteousness, respectively. For righteousness is said to be the way of the great gods, Rāvaṇa, while unrighteousness is the way of the *asuras* and the *rākṣasas.* For they say that when righteousness eclipses unrighteousness, that ushers in the Golden Age, known as the Kṛta. But when unrighteousness eclipses righteousness that brings on the degenerate Tiṣya Age. In rampaging through the worlds, you trampled glorious righteousness, and embraced unrighteousness instead. It is for that reason that your enemies have grown more powerful than we. Grown strong through your reckless actions, the serpent of unrighteousness is devouring us while righteousness, which the deities revere, strengthens the forces of the gods.[6]

Mālyavān then goes on to castigate Rāvaṇa for oppressing the holy and righteous *vaidika* sages[7] before, surprisingly, concluding with this interesting observation, "विष्णुं मन्यामहे रामं मानुषं देहमास्थितम् । न हि मानुषमात्रोऽसौ राघवो दृढविक्रमः ॥ (We truly believe that Rāma is none other than Viṣṇu who has taken the body of a man. For this Rāghava, so firm in his valour, is surely no ordinary human.)"[8] The reference is interesting as it is one of the few passages in

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When, after Rāvaṇa's first humiliating defeat at Rāma's hands, he has his attendants undertake the heroic task of waking the sleeping giant, Kumbhakarṇa reports to him for his instructions. But, upon hearing about the siege of Laṅkā, the monstrous warrior, who has trampled on all norms of righteous conduct, rather than taking his brother's part, first lectures him sternly and at length on the *śāstraic* norms for the righteous exercise of royal power.

दृष्टो दोषो हि योऽस्माभिः पुरा मन्त्रविनिर्णये ।
हितेष्वनभियुक्तेन कोऽयमासादितस्त्वया ॥ २

शीघ्रं खल्वभ्युपेतं त्वां फलं पापस्य कर्मणः ।
निरयेष्वेव पतनं यथा दुष्कृतकर्मणः ॥ ३

प्रथमं वै महाराज कृत्यमेतदचिन्तितम् ।
केवलं वीर्यदर्पेण नानुबन्धो विचारितः ॥ ४

यः पश्चात्पूर्वकार्याणि कुर्यादैश्वर्यमास्थितः ।
पूर्वं चोत्तरकार्याणि न स वेद नयानयौ ॥ ५

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9. Goldman, Robert P., and Sally J. Sutherland Goldman, eds. and trans. (1996). *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki: An Epic of Ancient India*. Vol. 5, *Sundarakāṇḍa*. Introduction and annotation by Robert P. Goldman and Sally J. Sutherland Goldman. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Henceforth, Goldman and Goldman 1996. pp. 65-68.

10. It will be recalled that the reason for Kumbhakarṇa's being subjected to the curse (or "boon") of near-perpetual sleep is the gods' well-grounded fear that in his insatiable hunger he might devour the entire world. See. 6.49.19-23; 7.10.31-42.

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देशकालविहीनानि कर्माणि विपरीतवत् ।
क्रियमाणानि दुष्यन्ति हवींष्यप्रयतेष्विव ॥ ६

त्रयाणां पञ्चधा योगं कर्मणां यः प्रपश्यति ।
सचिवैः समयं कृत्वा स सभ्ये वर्तते पथि ॥ ७

यथागमं च यो राजा समयं विचिकीर्षति ।
बुध्यते सचिवान्बुद्ध्या सुहृदश्चानुपश्यति ॥ ८

धर्ममर्थं च कामं च सर्वान्वा रक्षसां पते ।
भजते परुषः काले त्रीणि द्वन्द्वानि वा पुनः ॥ ९

त्रिषु चैतेषु यच्छ्रेष्ठं श्रुत्वा तन्नावबुध्यते ।
राजा वा राजमात्रो वा व्यर्थं तस्य बहुश्रुतम् ॥ १०

उपप्रदानं सान्त्वं वा भेदं काले च विक्रमम् ।
योगं च रक्षसां श्रेष्ठ तावुभौ च नयानयौ ॥ ११

काले धर्मार्थकामान्यः संमन्त्र्य सचिवैः सह ।
निषेवेतात्मवाँल्लोके न स व्यसनमाप्नुयात् ॥ १२

हितानुबन्धमालोक्य कार्याकार्यमिहात्मनः ।
राजा सहार्थतत्त्वज्ञैः सचिवैः सह जीवति ॥ १३

अनभिज्ञाय शास्त्रार्थान्परुषाः पशुबुद्धयः ।
प्रागल्भ्याद्वक्तुमिच्छन्ति मन्त्रेष्वभ्यन्तरीकृताः ॥ १४

अशास्त्रविदुषां तेषां न कार्यमहितं वचः ।
अर्थशास्त्रानभिज्ञानां विपुलां श्रियमिच्छताम् ॥ १५

अहितं च हिताकारं धाष्ट्यार्ज्जल्पन्ति ये नराः ।
अवेक्ष्य मन्त्रबाह्यास्ते कर्तव्याः कृत्यदूषणाः ॥ १६

विनाशयन्तो भर्तारं सहिताः शत्रुभिर्बुधैः ।
विपरीतानि कृत्यानि कारयन्तीह मन्त्रिणः ॥ १७

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> who point out the means of capturing us. Therefore, we know that the danger presented by one's kin is the most severe of all. In cattle there is wealth, in the *brāhmin,* self-restraint. In women, there is fickleness, from a kinsman, danger.' And that is why, dear brother, you cannot bear it, that I am respected throughout the worlds, that I have attained universal sovereignty, and that I have set my foot on the heads of my enemies.[5]

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>
> तस्य देवर्षयः सर्वे गन्धर्वाश्च जयैषिणः ।
> विरोधं मा गमस्तेन संधिस्ते तेन रोचताम् ॥ १०
>
> असृजद्भगवान्पक्षौ द्वावेव हि पितामहः ।
> सुराणामसुराणां च धर्माधर्मौ तदाश्रयौ ॥ ११
>
> धर्मो हि श्रूयते पक्षः सुराणां च महात्मनाम् ।
> अधर्मो रक्षसां पक्षो ह्यसुराणां च रावण ॥ १२
>
> धर्मो वै ग्रसतेऽधर्मं ततः कृतमभूद्युगम् ।
> अधर्मो ग्रसते धर्मं ततस्तिष्यः प्रवर्तते ॥ १३

5. 6.10.2-10

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तत्त्वया चरता लोकान्धर्मो विनिहतो महान् ।
अधर्मः प्रगृहीतश्च तेनास्मद्बलिनः परे ॥ १४

स प्रमादाद्विवृद्धस्तेऽधर्मोऽहिर्ग्रसते हि नः ।
विवर्धयति पक्षं च सुराणां सुरभावनः ॥ १५

Therefore, I would recommend making peace with Rāma, Rāvaṇa. You should give him back Sītā on whose account we are so heavily besieged. All the gods, seers, and *gandharvas* desire Rāma's victory. Therefore, you should not oppose him. You should choose to make peace with him. The blessed grandfather Brahmā created two races: that of the gods and that of the *asuras,* who had recourse to righteousness and unrighteousness, respectively. For righteousness is said to be the way of the great gods, Rāvaṇa, while unrighteousness is the way of the *asuras* and the *rākṣasas*. For they say that when righteousness eclipses unrighteousness, that ushers in the Golden Age, known as the Kṛta. But when unrighteousness eclipses righteousness that brings on the degenerate Tiṣya Age. In rampaging through the worlds, you trampled glorious righteousness, and embraced unrighteousness instead. It is for that reason that your enemies have grown more powerful than we. Grown strong through your reckless actions, the serpent of unrighteousness is devouring us while righteousness, which the deities revere, strengthens the forces of the gods.[6]

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दृष्टो दोषो हि योऽस्माभिः पुरा मन्त्रविनिर्णये ।
हितेष्वनभियुक्तेन कोऽयमासादितस्त्वया ॥ २

शीघ्रं खल्वभ्युपेतं त्वां फलं पापस्य कर्मणः ।
निरयेष्वेव पतनं यथा दुष्कृतकर्मणः ॥ ३

प्रथमं वै महाराज कृत्यमेतदचिन्तितम् ।
केवलं वीर्यदर्पेण नानुबन्धो विचारितः ॥ ४

यः पश्चात्पूर्वकार्याणि कुर्यादैश्वर्यमास्थितः ।
पूर्वं चोत्तरकार्याणि न स वेद नयानयौ ॥ ५

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9. Goldman, Robert P., and Sally J. Sutherland Goldman, eds. and trans. (1996). *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki: An Epic of Ancient India.* Vol. 5, *Sundarakāṇḍa.* Introduction and annotation by Robert P. Goldman and Sally J. Sutherland Goldman. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Henceforth, Goldman and Goldman 1996. pp. 65-68.

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देशकालविहीनानि कर्माणि विपरीतवत् ।
क्रियमाणानि दुष्यन्ति हवींष्यप्रयतेष्विव ॥ ६

त्रयाणां पञ्चधा योगं कर्मणां यः प्रपश्यति ।
सचिवैः समयं कृत्वा स सभ्ये वर्तते पथि ॥ ७

यथागमं च यो राजा समयं विचिकीर्षति ।
बुध्यते सचिवान्बुद्ध्या सुहृदश्चानुपश्यति ॥ ८

धर्ममर्थं च कामं च सर्वान्वा रक्षसां पते ।
भजते परुषः काले त्रीणि द्वन्द्वानि वा पुनः ॥ ९

त्रिषु चैतेषु यच्छ्रेष्ठं श्रुत्वा तन्नावबुध्यते ।
राजा वा राजमात्रो वा व्यर्थं तस्य बहुश्रुतम् ॥ १०

उपप्रदानं सान्त्वं वा भेदं काले च विक्रमम् ।
योगं च रक्षसां श्रेष्ठ तावुभौ च नयानयौ ॥ ११

काले धर्मार्थकामान्यः संमन्त्र्य सचिवैः सह ।
निषेवेतात्मवाँल्लोके न स व्यसनमाप्नुयात् ॥ १२

हितानुबन्धमालोक्य कार्याकार्यमिहात्मनः ।
राजा सहार्थतत्त्वज्ञैः सचिवैः सह जीवति ॥ १३

अनभिज्ञाय शास्त्रार्थान्परुषाः पशुबुद्धयः ।
प्रागल्भ्याद्वक्तुमिच्छन्ति मन्त्रेष्वभ्यन्तरीकृताः ॥ १४

अशास्त्रविदुषां तेषां न कार्यमहितं वचः ।
अर्थशास्त्रानभिज्ञानां विपुलां श्रियमिच्छताम् ॥ १५

अहितं च हिताकारं धाष्ट्यार्ज्जल्पन्ति ये नराः ।
अवेक्ष्य मन्त्रबाह्यास्ते कर्तव्याः कृत्यदूषणाः ॥ १६

विनाशयन्तो भर्तारं सहिताः शत्रुभिर्बुधैः ।
विपरीतानि कृत्यानि कारयन्तीह मन्त्रिणः ॥ १७

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तान्भर्ता मित्रसंकाशानमित्रान्मन्त्रनिर्णये ।
व्यवहारेण जानीयात्सचिवानुपसंहितान् ॥ १८

चपलस्येह कृत्यानि सहसानुप्रधावतः ।
छिद्रमन्ये प्रपद्यन्ते क्रौञ्चस्य खमिव द्विजाः ॥ १९

यो हि शत्रुमवज्ञाय नात्मानमभिरक्षति ।
अवाप्नोति हि सोऽनर्थान्स्थानाच्च व्यवरोप्यते ॥ २०

Since you paid no heed to those who had your welfare at heart, you have now met with that very calamity that we foresaw earlier at the council of ministers. You are suffering the immediate consequences of your wicked deed, just as evildoers suffer an instant descent into their respective hells. You carried out this action, your majesty, without first reflecting upon it. In the sheer arrogance of your strength, you did not consider the consequences. A person who, relying upon his royal authority, does later what ought to be done first, and first what ought to be done later, has no comprehension of the distinction between sound and unsound policy. Actions that are performed in inverted order, without reference to the proper time and place, are harmful, just as are offerings of food to impious persons. A king who perceives the fivefold application of the three types of action after coming to a decision with his ministers, remains on the proper path. As does a king who desires to reach a decision in conformance with the texts on polity and who pays heed to his ministers and recognizes his true friends by virtue of his own intelligence. A man should pursue all three human ends -righteousness, profit, and pleasure- at their proper times, lord of the *rākṣasas,* either all at once or two at a time. And a king or one exercising royal power, who learns which amongst these three is foremost and yet does not take it to heart, finds all his great learning to be in vain. But, foremost among *rākṣasas,* the self-possessed monarch should consult with his ministers concerning the timely use of bribery, conciliation, sowing dissension, coercive force, or any combination of these means, as well as the proper and improper ways of applying them. He who does so and practices righteousness, profit, and pleasure at their appropriate times, never comes to grief in this world.

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> And the king who, together with ministers who understand the true nature of things and have his interests at heart, deliberates over what he ought and ought not do in this world in order to achieve a beneficial result thrives. There are some men-dumb brutes, in fact-utterly ignorant of the import of the learned texts, who, once they are brought into discussions of policy, wish to speak out of sheer arrogance. One should not follow the pernicious advice of those who are ignorant of the learned texts and unfamiliar with the treatises on statecraft and who merely wish to enhance their own positions. And those men who undermine all undertakings by foolishly uttering in their insolence pernicious advice that only seems beneficial should, after careful examination, be excluded from discussions of policy. For in this world some counsellors, acting in concert with cunning enemies, persuade their master to engage in self-destructive actions, thus bringing him to ruin. When it comes to evaluating counsel, a master must, through a full investigation, determine which of his ministers are, in fact, enemies who are posing as friends although they have actually been suborned. For his enemies find the weak points of a rash king who suddenly rushes into undertakings just as birds plunge into the gap in the Krau-ñca mountain. And so a king who underestimates his enemy and fails to protect himself, meets with calamities and falls from his lofty state[11].

It is only when Rāvaṇa, in his anger and self-pity rebukes Kumbhakarṇa and then begs him to offer his brotherly assistance that the latter vows to destroy the invading army.[12]

The *Yuddhakāṇḍa's* last, most extensively argued and in many ways most interesting sustained discourse on the subjects of *dharma, artha* and *nīti* is that delivered by Lakṣmaṇa at one of the Book's most emotionally wrought moments.

After Indrajit has deluded and demoralized the monkey army with his illusory murder of a simulacrum of Sītā, Hanumān sorrowfully reports the horrific event to Rāma. The latter, who must maintain his status as an "ordinary man" until the completion of his divine mission, collapses with grief at this news and remains unfit for combat until after the defeat and death of Indrajit.

It is at this juncture that Lakṣmaṇa, in an attempt to console his brother,[13] delivers

11. 6.51.2-20.
12. 6.51.27 ff.
13. 6.71.1.

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himself of a lengthy critique of *dharma*, truth and the entire edifice of morality of which Rāma is the tradition's greatest exemplar and upon which his entire characterization is based. Lakṣmaṇa takes a cynical and worldly view arguing that the fact that terrible things (such as the apparent murder of Sītā) happen to such virtuous people as Rāma while those who, like Rāvaṇa, flout every rule of *dharma* prosper is proof that the practice of righteousness is pointless. Lakṣmaṇa revives his old argument that Rāma should have never agreed to accept banishment in deference to some abstract notion of truth but should have in fact imprisoned Daśaratha who had treated him so wrongfully and cruelly.[14] Refuting the entire concept of *dharma* as an independent force, Lakṣmaṇa resorts to a more Machiavellian realpolitik deriving its logic from the principles of *arthaśāstra*. He argues that the ability to perform righteous action is made possible only through wealth and power, (*artha*) both of which Rāma has foolishly forfeited by relinquishing the kingship that was rightfully his. Lakṣmaṇa then utters a virtual paean of praise to wealth and power from which, he argues, all blessings flow, concluding his peroration with a vow to avenge the killing of Sītā by destroying Rāvaṇa and Laṅkā along with him.[15]

What is particularly striking about Lakṣmaṇa's sustained critique of the fundamental principles of *dharmaśāstra* here is not so much its content as the fact that Rāma makes no effort to refute it.

There are a number of places in the epic where characters question or criticize actions that Rāma has taken or proposes to take.[16] In most of these episodes, the characters debating Rāma argue from the perspective of some aspect of *dharma* as it is encoded in the *śāstra* or in oral tradition. Nonetheless, in each of his rebuttals Rāma trumps these arguments with those derived from a higher, more comprehensive, or more correct reading of *dharmaśastra* conduct.

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14. 2. 18.

15. 6.70.13-42.

16. Examples are Kausalyā's arguments that Rāma should obey her maternal command to stay in Ayodhyā rather than Daśaratha's paternal order of banishment or at least allow her to accompany him into exile. (2.18.18-24; 2.21.5-6), Sītā's argument that she should be permitted to accompany Rāma into exile (2.24.2-18; 2.26.2-21), Sītā's critique of Rāma's carrying weapons during his sojourn in the guise of a forest ascetic (3.8), and Vālin's denunciation of Rāma for his having shot him while he was engaged in single combat with his brother Sugrīva (4.17.12-45). For a discussion of these and other *dharma* debates in the poem see R. Goldman, 2003.

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In a few of these cases, however, a character will take a position that is directly contrary to the normal *dharmic* rules of filial deference and obedience to legitimate royal authority or even one that denies the foundational ontological and eschatological principles of mainstream Vedic and *postvedic* Hindu ideology. Such positions proceed from a pragmatic and distinctly materialistic world view that rejects such core concepts as rebirth and an afterlife whose conditions are governed by a karmic system of moral rewards and punishments. In denying explicitly or implicitly, the existence of the *adṛśya* or invisible worlds of the gods, heavens and hells such arguments speak to a hedonistic and materialistic philosophy according to which one should take what one can get in this world in terms of pleasure, wealth and power.

Examples of this kind of argument in the *Rāmāyaṇa* are Lakṣmaṇa's angry outbursts in the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* where he urges Rāma to resist his father's tacit compliance with Kaikeyī's demand that he be banished and instead depose the old king and seize the throne by force[17] and the well-known and highly explicit critique of *dharma*, deference and religion put forward by the Brāhmaṇa Jābāli in an effort to persuade the exiled prince to give up his adherence to the orders of the now deceased king and to return to claim the Kosalan throne.[18]

But all of these arguments, whether they offer an incorrect interpretation of *dharma* or seek to deny it altogether, have a single purpose. They are all placed in the poem to serve as *pūrvapakṣas*, as incomplete or utterly incorrect arguments that provide opportunities in which their proponents' interlocutor, Rāma himself, can correct them[19] and in so doing carry out his role as the narrative literature's most prominent exponent of *dharma*.

Given this background, Lakṣmaṇa's attempt to "console" his grief-stricken and prostrated brother in the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* is curious. In the first place it seems odd that Lakṣmaṇa should seek to comfort Rāma by bringing up the same kind of arguments that the prince has so soundly refuted in the past and that had earned him, Lakṣmaṇa, his brother's rebuke on

17. 2.18.1-15; 2.20.1-35.

18. 2.100.

19. In the one case in which Rāma "loses" an argument, the one in which he debates with Sītā the propriety of her accompanying him to the forest, it is made clear that it is he himself who is putting forward the *pūrvapakṣa* in an effort to test Sītā and thus assure himself that she truly understands and is able to articulate the correct *dharmic* position. (2.27. 26-31).

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those earlier occasions. Most striking is the fact that this, the last of the epic's attempted refutations of *dharma*, is the only one to go utterly unanswered by Rāma. For instead of the anticipated correction on Rāma's part the poet brings in Vibhīṣaṇa who brusquely cuts off Lakṣmaṇa, assuring Rāma that Sītā could not have been in fact killed. He then instructs him to send Lakṣmaṇa out to fight Indrajit before the latter has a chance to complete his latest tantric rite.[20]

It is not entirely clear why Rāma fails to respond to Lakṣmaṇa's radical deconstruction of *dharma* and morality in favour of a virtual hymn to *artha* and political expediency. His silence here goes against the otherwise uniform practice of the poet and appears to let stand an argument that runs counter to the most fundamental theme of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the culture of which it is one of the principal documents. Perhaps it is the poet's way of showing, through the graphic depiction of Rāma's grief driven incapacity, his genuine humanity on the very eve of the final revelation of his true stature as the supreme divinity.

But this concerns the complex theological aspect of the poem, a concern that does not form a part of the present modest study. The noteworthy point here is that Vālmīki takes full advantage of the great size of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* and the natural opportunities its narrative logic provides to have his colourful and diverse cast of characters deliver themselves of a number of lengthy and interesting discourses on *dharma* and *nīti*. No doubt now that the central narrative of the great poem has entered its final chapters, the poet seeks once again to stake his claim to having created not only a moving and emotionally wrought tale of his hero's life and struggles but a work that, like India's other great ancient epic poem, the *Mahābhārata*, serves not only as a gripping tale of love and war and a history of God's earthly sojourn but as a highly dramatic exposition of traditional morality and statecraft, *dharma* and *nīti*, accessible to those without the learning or the patience to work their way through the dry pages of formal *śāstra*.

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20 6.71. 5-22.

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